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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

Published Weekly

Catholicism Comes to Middletown

Second Article in the Series on 'Can Catholicism Win America?'

By Harold E. Fey

The Theologians' Report

An Editorial

Catholic Peace Demands

An Editorial

Penn the Pioneer

By Henry J. Cadbury

DECEMBER SURVEY OF BOOKS

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In This Issue

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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

December 6, 1944

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Dec. 5-6. Advisory Council, American Bible Society, New York.

Dec. 5-6. Regional Meeting, Interseminary Movement, Oberlin, O.

Dec. 8-9. Rural Life Conference, Historic Peace Churches, Bluffton, O.

Dec. 10. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Reinhold Niebuhr, speaker.

Dec. 10. Universal Bible Sunday.

Dec. 10. Charles Street Forum, Boston; Bernard DeVoto, speaker.

Dec. 11. Hanukkah.

Dec. 17. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Wing-Tsit Chan, speaker.

Dec. 17. Community Church, Boston; Herbert Gezork, speaker.

Dec. 17. Charles Street Forum, Boston; Frederick J. Libby and Daniel Needham, speakers.

Dec. 21. St. Thomas' Day.

Dec. 24. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Louis Fischer, speaker.

Dec. 24. Community Church, Boston; Harry F. Ward, speaker.

Dec. 25. Christmas.

Dec. 26. Fast of Tebet.

Dec. 26. St. Stephen's Day.

Dec. 28. Holy Innocents Day.

Dec. 28-30. Christian Unity Conference, Washington, D. C.

Dec. 31. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Harry A. Overstreet and Bonaro Overstreet, speakers.

Jan. 5-8. Annual Meeting, Foreign Missions Conference of North America, Toronto, Can.

Jan. 6. Epiphany.

Jan. 7. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Maurice Hindus, speaker.

Jan. 7-14. Universal Week of Prayer.

Jan. 8-12. Annual Meeting, Home Missions Council of North America, Atlantic City, N. J.

Jan. 14. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Max Lerner, speaker.

Jan. 14. Second Congregational Church Forum, Waterbury, Conn.; Walter H. Judd, speaker.

Jan. 16-19. Study Conference, Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, Cleveland, O.

Jan. 28. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Ray Josephs, speaker.

Feb. 2. Candlemas.

Feb. 5. International Council of Religious Education, Columbus, O.

Feb. 11. Race Relations Day.

Feb. 12. Fellowship Forum, Philadelphia; Scott Nearing, speaker.

Feb. 18. Day of Prayer for Students.

Feb. 18-25. Brotherhood Week.

Mar. 12. Fellowship Forum, Philadelphia; A. Philip Randolph, speaker.

Mar. 25. Annunciation.

May 23. General Assembly, United Presbyterian Church, Dayton, O.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

VOLUME LXI CHICAGO, DECEMBER 6, 1944 NUMBER 49

EDITORIAL

MR. HULL's resignation has brought the first important change in the government since the election. The precarious condition of the secretary of state's health has been public knowledge for a long time. It was believed, however, that Mr. Hull would retain his post at least until the charter for the "general international organization" promised in the Moscow Declaration should be completed and this government have voted its ratification. No other man in American history has headed the state department for as lengthy a term. And no other man in that post has had to deal with more difficult problems. As he looks back over these almost twelve years it is probable that Mr. Hull will regard the series of bilateral reciprocal trade treaties concluded with a large number of countries as the outstanding achievement of his term. Next to those in importance he might account the negotiation of the Moscow Declaration. Mr. Hull's letter of resignation makes clear the personal disappointment which he has suffered in having to step out at this time. There will be many, moreover, who will question whether Mr. Stettinius, after so brief an apprenticeship, is ready to take over this post. But so long as President Roosevelt continues to be his own maker of foreign policy, it does not make a great deal of difference who bears the name of secretary of state.

Secretary Hull Retires

Racial Tension Growing In South Africa

IF REPORTS now reaching this country are correct, recent race riots in Johannesburg have been the most severe in the history of the Union of South Africa. In the riots on November 5 one African was killed, six were seriously injured and fifty more injured sufficiently to require hospital treatment, while a white mob burned to the ground the buildings containing the offices of the *Bantu World,* an African newspaper. Worst of all, there are reports that while the mob rioted the police made no effort to interfere with Europeans. White toughs roamed the city, beating up any natives unfortunate enough to fall into their hands. A riot of this kind indicates that the tense racial situation in South Africa is moving rapidly toward the breaking point. The Christian Century's correspondent in that part of the world has devoted much space recently to telling of moves made by church groups in an effort to improve race relations. Unfortunately, these have been so limited in scope and so wary in their methods of approach as to suggest weakness rather than strength. And while these Christian bodies have been cautiously picking their way forward, the aggressive spirit of the groups insistent on depriving the black man of all civic and social rights has been growing by leaps and bounds. It is not the blacks who are forcing the issue in South Africa, but the whites. And it begins to look as though the end of the war, which is supposed to be spreading freedom, may find the South African natives deprived of what little freedom they have previously had.

Mackenzie King Executes A Strategic Shift

ONCE MORE Prime Minister Mackenzie King has displayed the lightning change talents which have enabled him to stay at the head of the Canadian government for lo, these many years. Within less than a week after he had allowed his minister of defense, Colonel James L. Ralston, to resign because the cabinet would not accept a conscription program, and had triumphantly produced from his new minister of defense, General A. G. L. McNaughton, a declaration that conscription would be unnecessary, the Canadian premier swung clear over to the conscription side in the current dispute which is shaking the dominion to its core. Well, perhaps not *clear* over. But sufficiently far to accept the principle of conscription and to announce a government decision to draft 16,000 home guards ("zombies") for service overseas. Mr. King's swift leap to a new strategic base indicated no important change in the war situation but rather a belief on his part that he had incorrectly gauged Canadian public opinion. The storm that blew up over Colonel Ralston's resignation quickly attained far more dangerous proportions—dangerous, that is, to the stability of the King government

—than the prime minister had believed possible. Led by most of the English-speaking newspapers, and abetted either openly or covertly by most of the officers in the Canadian army, public demand for conscription to fill the ranks of the hard-pressed forces in Holland became so insistent that Mr. King saw his own safety in an overnight conversion. With him he carried his new minister of defense, General McNaughton being left in the somewhat undignified position of a military man who, on the basis of his professional knowledge, had said one day that no draft was required and then had to turn around almost the next day to claim that conditions had so altered that conscription had now become essential. In making this shift, however, to save his government from the wrath of the English-speaking portion of the Canadian population, it is not yet clear that Mr. King has managed to preserve the loyalty of his party followers in French-speaking Quebec. As this is written, the Canadian Parliament is still debating this issue and the Quebec members still seem undecided as to their course. If the Liberals of Quebec desert the prime minister, his government will almost surely fall despite his appeasement of the rest of the country. Then there will be a general election largely fought on this issue. In any such election there will be a heavy majority in favor of a draft. But whether English-speaking Canadians will want to trust Mackenzie King, in the light of his record, to administer a conscription program remains in doubt. And whether such a program can be put into effect without adding to separatist agitation in Quebec also remains to be seen.

The Allies Now Have a Watch on the Rhine

AMERICAN, French and British troops have come within sight of the Rhine, but not at the point where a crossing would be most advantageous. French forces, by a rapid advance through the southern part of Alsace, paralleling the Swiss border, reached the river, which is the boundary of Germany in that section, and pressed north along its west bank, while the American 7th army drove eastward to occupy Strasbourg, leaving in German hands only a narrow bridgehead between the city and the Rhine, which are separated by a mile or two of low and level land. The meeting of these two forces on the bank of the Rhine south of Strasbourg will complete the encirclement of the German forces remaining in the Vosges mountains. But farther north in the sector between Aachen and Cologne, progress has been slow. Here both the attack and the defense have involved the largest numbers of men and the greatest resources in artillery, ammunition and tanks. It may be questioned whether any battlefield in history ever witnessed such a terrific impact of men and metal. This is mechanized warfare on a scale that has scarcely been equaled even in this war; and if not in this war, then never. The magnitude of the operations surprises even those who are conducting them, as shown by General Eisenhower's urgent call for more ammunition and his statement that his army was using it up four times as fast as had been expected. The higher price is being paid for admission to the Reich by the Cologne gateway than for entrance farther south because it is worth more. Penetration here will be a blow straight at the heart of the German power. Russian efforts are still being expended chiefly in the Balkans and especially in the last steps toward taking Budapest, while waiting perhaps for the bottomless mud of Poland and East Prussia to freeze and permit the opening of the winter campaign in that quarter.

Tottering European Governments

TWO more governments in "liberated" Europe have fallen or seem about to fall. On November 26 the Italian cabinet of Premier Bonomi resigned. And the cabinet of Premier Pierlot in Belgium has been hanging on by its fingertips for weeks. In fact, the Pierlot cabinet would have been out before this had not the British army commander in Belgium put the full weight of British arms behind it. Both in Italy and in Belgium it has been the rise of a radical opposition which has undermined the government. In Italy the communists and radical socialists, although given representation in the cabinet, have protested that their equality in that body with four other parties in no way represented the political opinions of the Italian people. If Bonomi manages to reconstitute a cabinet, it is certain that there will be far greater communist representation in the new body. In Belgium the crisis has been caused by the government's attempt to disarm the "resistance groups," which rendered valiant service as underground fighters against the Germans but now, continuing in existence largely as armed communists, constitute a daily threat to the government which returned from exile. Only British insistence, backed by British bayonets, can maintain that government much longer. In any event, here are two more indications of the swing toward communism now manifest all over the Continent, and of the inability of liberal governments in their own right to withstand the communist pressure.

P.A.C. to Continue Work in Churches

SO THE "religious associates" of the Political Action Committee of the C.I.O. are to form a permanent body to awaken the churches to labor's views on public issues! As reported on page 1426 of this paper, it is expected that several thousand clergymen and other churchmen will unite for political action in this subsidiary of the influential C.I.O.-P.A.C. In this organization they will be given an opportunity to make the acquaintance of labor leaders and to work with them for "progressive political action." This is expected to consist in the dissemination through the churches of information on legislative issues and on the position taken by legislators on such questions. When elections come, an intensified effort will be made to get voters to exercise their franchise. Presumably the program of this "religious work department of the P.A.C." will also involve campaigning to remove deterrents to voting such as the poll tax in most of the southern states and restrictive registration require-

ments in some other parts of the country. If this new organization conceives its function in such terms, we find no occasion for alarm in its activities. Church people as well as other citizens need to develop a greater interest in national and local affairs. With them as with others political apathy evaporates with increasing intelligence on issues and greater personal participation in the democratic process. If on the other hand the "religious associates" of P.A.C. intend to try to swing the churches behind a partisan political pressure program, their new organization should, and we predict that it will, be short-lived.

Seek Citizenship For Filipinos

TWENTY prominent Americans are urging the extension of citizenship to Filipinos resident in the United States. Writing under the auspices of the American Civil Liberties Union, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Dean Christian Gauss of Princeton University and Jennings Perry, editor of the *Nashville Tennessean,* have with seventeen others requested the House committee on immigration to remove the bars which now make citizens of the Philippine Commonwealth ineligible for naturalization. They remind Representative Samuel Dickstein, chairman of the committee, that H.R.4826, which is now before the committee, would remove Filipinos from the discriminatory classifications which also include Japanese and East Indians. Such an action, it is held, would "greatly enhance" the position of the United States in the Far East. It would also grant a measure of long delayed justice to the Filipino people, who have suffered a great deal because of this war and who have gallantly opposed the occupation of their country by Japan. With all this we are in complete agreement, but we wonder why the proposers of this step stop with the Filipinos. Every argument for the extension of citizenship to Filipinos applies with equal force to other Orientals. It applied to the Filipinos and others last year when the provisions for the exclusion of Chinese were repealed. Is this niggling, inch-by-inch process of bringing our immigration and naturalization laws into conformity with democratic principles to be continued forever? Why not come clean on this whole question by wiping out all racial discrimination from our laws and placing all peoples on the same immigration quota basis?

Indian Seeks American Arbitration Court

TO BREAK the Indian deadlock, the United States and Canada have been asked to form a court of arbitration. The request was made by C. Rajagopalachari, former president of the All-India Congress party and once premier of Madras. He believes that this is now the only way in which the widening rift between Hindus and Moslems can be bridged. It will be recalled that the Madras leader has emerged in the last two years as the principal exponent of reconciliation between these two communities. He broke with the Congress and with Gandhi because he believed that not enough consideration was being given to the Moslem demands for Pakistan or self-rule. As a consequence he was the only Congress leader of prominence not to be imprisoned two years ago. After Gandhi's release from prison, Mr. Rajagopalachari brought the Indian leader around to partial acceptance of his point of view. Out of this came a conference with Jinnah, the Moslem League president, which broke up in disagreement. Now "C. R.," as he is mercifully known, appears to be making a last bid for the reconciliation of the two communities without whose cooperation all talk of Indian freedom remains talk and nothing more. His suggestion is one which would not be impossible of achievement, providing Great Britain were prepared to accept the award of such an arbitration court. The two American nations could certainly find enough jurists and other men of broad experience in public affairs to constitute a court whose impartiality and competence would be assured. But no men of such broad experience would accept such an assignment unless London as well as the Indians would agree to accept the court's finding. That this would be done is most improbable. The present disunity in India is the result of a carefully conceived policy which is working to the full satisfaction of the ruling power. A court of arbitration would therefore be wasting its time in any effort to end this disunity.

The Spread of Profanity

THE DAILY PRESS has been quick to heap scorn on the California ministers who protested to President Roosevelt against his alleged profanity when a voting machine failed to function properly. And the ministers, apparently none too sure of their position, have rescinded their resolution and apologized to the President for having accused him of doing something which he has "denied." To be sure, all that the presidential denial amounted to was a disclaimer that he had said, "The —— —— thing won't work." What he said, Mr. Roosevelt claims, was, "The ——— thing won't work." We agree with the California ministers that it was hardly fair to the President to hold him up to public castigation for using an adjective which millions of his countrymen use every day—and all too many of them every waking hour of the day. Yet the incident, given exaggerated importance as it has been, is not without its significance. It points to a habit of careless and profane speech which is becoming all too prevalent among Americans. We noticed, for example, that on the same day President Roosevelt tried to explain away his language in the voting booth General Eisenhower, in an appeal to the Allied peoples made through newspaper correspondents at his headquarters, was reported as saying that "to get peace we have got to fight like hell." Is it a sign of wickedness in men when they talk this way? No. It is rather a sign of carelessness and of a restricted vocabulary. And still more it is a sign of the ease with which too many among us are giving way to an unfortunate habit of the times. Talk of this kind tends to increase in such a period as the present. By resorting to it men try to indicate that they are tough enough to measure up to tough times. It is a disclosure, however, of the limitations rather than

the abundance of their resources. The United States would gain in every way if all its people would set themselves to stop the spread of this childish habit of profanity.

Catholic Peace Demands

ONE can almost hear the cries of "perfectionism" that are sure to greet the declaration on the requirements of peace issued by the American bishops of the Roman Catholic Church. "Perfectionism," in too many cases, has become a reproach intended to justify such compromises with reaction as would constitute actual surrender to it. But this statement by the Catholic bishops is not a perfectionist document. It is saturated with realism and wisdom. What the bishops have done has been to take the actual proposals of the Dumbarton Oaks conference and lay them alongside the tests of a good peace already agreed upon by religious bodies —Catholics, Protestants and Jews, in this country and overseas, acting separately and in concert. Then, in the light of the resulting comparison, they have pointed a sternly admonitory finger at the proposed Dumbarton Oaks charter and declared, "Thou ailest here and here."

Not for many years has a more searching, more lucid and more courageous pronouncement on a matter of public policy come from an American church group. In these 2,200 words the Catholic bishops have pierced straight to the heart of the issue confronting the world, and have spoken in precisely the tones that a confused, disheartened and increasingly cynical public needs to hear. Amid an atmosphere of defeatism which has caused some church leaders to stop talking about a just and lasting peace, and to retreat into a mournful hope that the sacrifices of the war may at least produce a "sufferable" peace, these bishops refuse to lose heart or their sense of moral direction. They take their stand once again on the reality of the moral order, the authority of the moral law, and the possibility and necessity of a peace which will last because it seeks to achieve the justice of the moral law. They refuse to believe that the timidities, the outworn traditionalism and the cynicism of Dumbarton Oaks have to be accepted as the best the nations can do *now* toward building "an international community of nations." They know there is a better way, and they point out how Dumbarton Oaks can be amended to find it.

The statement of the Catholic bishops opens with a declaration that the war, and in fact the whole tragedy in which contemporary man finds himself engulfed, has not resulted from any reversion to barbarism or primitivism, but is rather the product of the secularist culture which, nurtured among the most sophisticated modern peoples, has begun by rejecting the idea of firm moral standards and ended "in political and social systems [which] enslave human reason and destroy the consciousness of innate human rights and duties." "If we are to have a just and lasting peace," say the bishops, "it must be the creation of a sane realism, which has a clear vision of the moral law, a reverent acknowledgment of God its Author, and a recognition of the oneness of the human race underlying all national distinctions."

Then the bishops turn to their detailed examination of the postwar proposals which have been brought forward by the great powers. "We have no confidence," they declare, "in a peace which does not carry into effect, without reservations and without equivocations, the principles of the Atlantic Charter." The words are aimed about equally at Winston Churchill and at the refusal of the Dumbarton Oaks conference to heed the Chinese plea to incorporate the text of the Atlantic Charter in the new document. "If justice is compromised, if unreasonable concessions are made to might, grievances will rankle in the bosom of aggrieved nations to endanger the peace of the world. . . . No international organization will be able to maintain a peace which is unfair and unjust."

"It is not a question," the bishops insist, "of creating an international community but of organizing it. To do this we must repudiate absolutely the tragic fallacies of 'power politics,' with its balance of power, spheres of influence in a system of puppet governments and the resort to war as a means of settling international difficulties. . . . International law must govern international relations. Might must be subordinated to law. An international institution, based on the recognition of an objective binding moral obligation and not on the binding force of covenant alone, is needed for the preservation of a just peace and the promotion of international cooperation for the common good of the international community." Such words not only parallel the criticism of the Dumbarton Oaks proposal which was made in these columns last week, but they may legitimately be taken to imply approval of the suggestion that a firm moral and juridical foundation should be placed under the contemplated world body by writing some such "objective binding moral obligation" as the Kellogg-Briand Pact, without reservations, into its charter.

From this repudiation of the present concept of the Dumbarton Oaks league, which is a military alliance of three great powers to dominate enormous spheres of influence in a world balance of power, the Catholic bishops turn to certain affirmative demands. The new world body must be all-inclusive. The only condition of membership must be that states "guarantee in law and respect in fact the innate rights of men, families and minority groups in their civil and religious life." There must be provision for the revision of treaties "in the interest of justice and the common good of the international community, as well as for the recognition of a people's coming of age in the family of nations." "In the maintenance of peace it is reasonable that the organization have at its disposal resources for coercing outlaw nations even by military measures." And there are well thought out sections of the declaration on the means by which the postwar world league may provide and safeguard the economic rights of all peoples, and by which the world court may be made not a mere advisory adjunct of the political league but a genuine and independent court administering a definitely established body of international law.

In only one respect, it seems to us, have the Catholic bishops exposed themselves to the charge of having al-

lowed their objective approach to the problem of peace to be warped or thrown off balance by the political interests of the Vatican. That is with regard to their treatment of Russia. True, the Soviet Union is not mentioned by name in this document. But there can be no question that, in saying that the council of the new league "must not allow any nation to sit in judgment in its own case," in demanding that member states in the new league shall accord their citizens the same rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights in the American Constitution, and in declaring that "a nation which refuses to accord to its own people the full enjoyment of innate human rights cannot be relied upon to cooperate in the international community for the maintenance of a peace which is based upon national freedom," the bishops were pointing straight at Russia. Undoubtedly, an attempt will be made to minimize the importance of this portion of their declaration as a mere reflection of the present—and perhaps only temporary—tension between the pope and Stalin.

Of course there are papal political interests involved at this point. Who would deny it? But the problem involved in Russia's relation to the coming peace goes far deeper and ramifies far beyond any question of a possible future Kremlin deal with the Vatican. The Soviet Union does, in fact, seem to be headed straight toward the sort of peace which the bishops are sure will be neither just nor lasting. It apparently intends to use its great power to establish a peace which shall be military in its essential form, conceived within a balance-of-power framework, and carried into effect by methods of undisguised power politics. To reconcile such policies with the affirmation, made in the preamble to the Dumbarton Oaks charter, that a world body is to be formed "based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states," or with President Roosevelt's recent assurance and insistence that the peace is to carry into effect the pledges of the Atlantic Charter, is a task no human rationalization can successfully achieve. In facing the moral as well as the political problem posed by Russia in the making of the peace, the Catholic bishops, while probably not wholly uninfluenced by political motives, have nevertheless pointed out a real issue. To blind one's eyes to it now may be the surest way of coming to grief later.

This declaration by the American bishops of the Roman Catholic Church has come at a fateful hour. Dumbarton Oaks is still in its initial stages. The text of its proposal has still to be completed, and what has been made public is open to alteration. With this declaration, the Catholic bishops disclose one great Christian body courageously discharging its responsibility to pass judgment on this still pending proposal in the light of the moral law. By providential circumstance, the leadership of American Protestantism is also to have an opportunity to pass the same sort of judgment while the nation's decision is still held in abeyance. At the biennial meeting of the Federal Council of Churches, in session in Pittsburgh as these words are being printed, this issue is likely to come up for discussion. And at the "Second Delaware" which the Federal Council's commission on a just and durable peace has called to meet in Cleveland in January, it will certainly provide the chief subject on the agenda. Thus there is every promise that the voice of Protestantism can soon be heard. Let it be hoped that it will prove to be as clear, as bold and as searching a voice as this in which the Catholic bishops have spoken!

The Theologians' Report

TWO YEARS ago, at its biennial meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, the Federal Council of Churches created a "Commission on the Relation of the Church to the War in the Light of the Christian Faith." Twenty-four representative theologians were appointed to study this question and to prepare a report of their convictions and conclusions.* After two years of collective study, with numerous meetings and much exchange of views and criticisms by correspondence, the commission has now completed its work. Its chairman, Professor Robert L. Calhoun, to whom his colleagues assigned the task of drafting the report, is presenting it this week to the biennial meeting of the Federal Council in Pittsburgh.

An advance copy of the report has been put in our hands. Obviously, it would be inappropriate to discuss its contents publicly before it has been formally received by the Federal Council and released to the churches for their study and general discussion. But there are some things that may be said in anticipation by way of preparing the mind of the church for the fullest consideration and a true appraisal of the 22,000-word document.

First of all, we would direct attention to the significance of the fact that the churches, through their Federal Council, have turned to their theologians for light on a problem which sorely distresses them. This is without precedent in American Protestantism. Our theologians have, of course, participated in all the creed-making by which the church's faith has been defined and in the witness-bearing manifestoes by which its course of action has been guided. But the councils in which this work was done were always ecclesiastically composed and reflected therefore the prejudgments and the prudential interests of the group, whether denominational or interdenominational.

In turning to its theologians for light on the meaning

* Following are the members of the commission: Robert L. Calhoun, Yale Divinity School, chairman; Edwin E. Aubrey, president, Crozer Theological Seminary; Roland H. Bainton of Yale Divinity School; John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary; Conrad Bergendoff of Augustana Theological Seminary; Harvie Branscomb of Duke University; Frank Caldwell of Louisville Theological Seminary; Angus Dun, Bishop of Washington, D. C.; Nels F. S. Ferré of Andover-Newton Theological Seminary; Theodore M. Greene of Princeton University; Georgia Harkness of Garrett Biblical Institute; Walter M. Horton of Oberlin Theological Seminary; John Knox of Union Theological Seminary; Umphrey Lee of Southern Methodist University; John A. Mackay of Princeton Theological Seminary; Benjamin E. Mays of Morehouse College; John T. McNeill and Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary; H. Richard Niebuhr of Yale Divinity School; Wilhelm Pauck of Chicago Theological Seminary; Douglas Steere of Haverford College; Ernest Fremont Tittle of Evanston, Ill.; Henry P. Van Dusen of Union Theological Seminary; and A. C. Zabriskie of Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary.

of the war, the church in effect said: We are facing a problem which is too deep and too complicated for us. There are sharp divisions and tensions among us. We do not assume that you know all the answers. But you know more than we, the laity and general clergy, know. Our problem lies in the field of your special vocation. You have been ordained by the church to devote your whole mind to the understanding and interpretation of the Christian faith. Tell us, therefore, what light the Christian faith sheds on the nature of war, on God's relation to it, on the church's relation to it, on the individual Christian's duty as he confronts it and on any other aspect of the war which you regard as relevant to an intelligent and faithful orientation of the Christian community in the midst of a war situation.

In thus seeking the counsel of its theologians, neither the church nor any of its members is bound to accept the conclusions which they offer. Under Christ, there is no authority which can bind the Christian conscience. But also under Christ, there is a diversity of gifts in the church, and those Christians are wise who pay humble respect to the findings of Christian scholars whose gift and vocation it is to search out the deep things of our common faith. It is in this spirit that the theological commission presents its report. In the very first sentence it disclaims any intention of making "a pronouncement in the name of the Christian church," but modestly describes its report as "a word spoken, we trust, in the faith of the church, to our fellow Christians and to all our fellow men."

The detachment of this commission from all ecclesiastical considerations and pressures is emphasized not only by their vocation as theologians but by the fact that they were selected without regard to denominational affiliation. Among them there is not one whose thinking is circumscribed by a sectarian outlook. It may safely be assumed that they were appointed solely because of their eminence as Christian scholars. Their books and other writings are received with equal respect by thoughtful men and women in all denominations.

If any other principle operated in determining their appointment it was probably that of providing for a representation of the various types or schools of thought on the subject with which the commission was to deal. At any rate, the personnel includes the whole range of Christian thinking on war, from the pacifist to the apologist for war, and the whole range of theological outlook which is distinguished by the increasingly inept labels of orthodoxy and liberalism. That a commission so composed could bring in a unanimous report on so controversial an issue should command respect for its findings.

The prospective reader of this report should be cautioned against a too simple expectation as to its character. It does not present us with cut-and-dried answers to the questions raised. Most of us have had experience enough not to expect this of our theologians! But, seriously, they would have misconceived their task had they merely set up categorical questions and decided them by a show of hands. No reader of the report could wish a mere *ipsi dixit* from this commission. What the church needs and every Christian must desire is to see the problem of war in the large context of the Christian faith. This the commission has done for us. Fully as much space is devoted to a setting forth of the Christian faith as to the light it throws on the war.

This is as it should be. Our tensions over this issue arise from shallow and partial conceptions of what Christianity is. We thus fall into the trap of oversimplification and reach cocksure decisions based upon our failure to discriminate carefully and to see facts and truths with which our decision collides. Presumptively, the theologian is one who tries to see Christianity whole, and to bring into its total framework every particular problem. This is the method followed by the commission. The reader with a predominantly activist mentality, eager for the conclusion, may be impatient with the long approaches to specific aspects of the war problem. If he cannot overcome this disability, the report is not for him. For these scholars are striving to touch bottom in Christian faith and to provide counsel for our guidance in the practical application of Christian principles.

Yet it must not be inferred that the report is difficult reading, and that only those with special intellectual equipment can follow it. Any thoughtful layman or minister can read it if he brings to it a *patient* mind. No one will be satisfied to read it merely once. He will wish to go over its pages repeatedly with critical attention, determined to get the whole picture before his mind that he may see the conclusions in their setting. A pastor will wish to provide copies for the more eager members of his parish and to form a group to discuss it under his interpretative leadership. (We are informed that the report may be secured at 25 cents a copy by addressing the Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10.)

The document marks a milestone in Christian thinking, on a parity with the deliverances of the Oxford Conference of 1937, and even more significant than the corresponding utterances of that ecumenical council. Under the spur of the general interest in the war problem, this report may lead to a recapturing of the Christian faith itself, so nearly lost from our moralistic and activistic American Christianity. The fact that the war has been going on for five years (three years for us), and that the practical decisions in relation to it have long since been made by the church and the individual Christian, is no reason for discounting the timeliness of the commission's report. After all, our decisions have been cautious and tentative, and the problem of war is a timeless one. The time to establish sound principles of Christian action for the prevention of another war or for facing another (which, pray God, we may not have to do!) is now, while the problem burns hot in our conscience.

The church has made gains during this war beyond any position which it had taken in any other war. And these gains we shall find reflected and confirmed in this report. But the whole problem still remains with us. It will call for prolonged and calm study as we enter the postwar world. Our Christian witness requires to be clarified and buttressed by the most intelligent understanding of the demands which our faith makes upon us. The report will, we believe, mark the beginning of a new era in the church's way of thinking about war.

This is the second article in the series, 'Can Catholicism Win America?'

Catholicism Comes to Middletown

By Harold E. Fey

TWENTY YEARS AGO when Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd were studying "Middletown," the presence of the Roman Catholic Church in that pseudonymous but typical midwestern city was hardly noticed by these astute observers. The Ku Klux Klan was poisoning community relations with wild tales that the pope was about to set up his throne in Washington and that orgies of priests and nuns were a menace to decent moral standards. Its propaganda also maintained that parochial schools were undermining the educational structure. But in Middletown the Roman Catholic Church itself was of so little consequence that these social investigators completed their classic cross-section study of a typical American community without bothering to learn who the Catholics in the city were, what they were doing, what they thought about this furor or how it affected them. The sermons of Protestant ministers were studied, but there was no indication of what the Catholics were being taught.

In 1937 when the Lynds returned to the city and reported on *Middletown in Transition,* a second Catholic church was there. It had taken over a church building near the college. This building had been erected by a Protestant church which had closed, a casualty of the economic depression. The Catholic population was still "extremely small," as was shown by the fact that only 2.7 per cent of Middletown's children were in parochial schools. "The Catholic Church pursued in 1935 the same quiet, resolute, inconspicuous course as in 1925. It is not involved in local politics or any other public aspects of Middletown's life," declared the Lynds.* Of the nineteen principal cities in the state, Middletown had the lowest proportion of Catholic population. The Klan had died, but there was still some hangover from the spree of hate and fear on which it had taken the people.

This state of affairs in Middletown was typical of large numbers of smaller American communities at the end of the First World War. But the war set forces in motion in the nation and in the Roman Catholic Church which the hierarchy decided to maintain and use. The objective of the hierarchy is to win America to the Roman Catholic faith. This policy involves the progressive abandonment of the "inconspicuous course" which the Lynds saw Catholicism taking in Middletown and the development of an aggressive and forthright strategy.

To achieve this end, the hierarchy has created certain instruments of power. To see these at work, let us imagine that the Catholic bishop of the diocese in which Middletown is located would do a thing which no Catholic bishop is likely to admit he would do. Let us suppose that he should decide to take Middletown from the bottom of the list of nineteen principal cities of his state to the top and to make of it a model Catholic city. How will he go about it?

The bishop will not announce the fact, but his objective will be nothing less than a total change in the character of Middletown's culture. Time is of little consequence to him, for the church never hurries. But with this objective to accomplish, the bishop takes account of his resources. The way in which he draws on these resources reveals how American Catholicism has changed since the First World War. For most of the steps taken by this hypothetical bishop have become possible only since 1920.

I

First, the bishop decides that two Catholic churches are not enough for Middletown. He knows that in several of the areas of war industry housing his priests have been conducting missions. In this work they have been aided by the National Catholic Community Service, a member agency of the U.S.O. The bishop thereupon calls on the National Catholic Church Extension Society in Chicago to provide him with funds for some chapels. Bishop W. D. O'Brien of this society proclaims publicly through his magazine *Extension* that his society will furnish funds for a chapel wherever as many as ten Catholics can be got together as often as once a month, providing the bishop of the diocese makes the request. This the Middletown bishop does.

If his secular clergy are not able to care for the new churches, the bishop calls on one or more of the religious orders to take over a Middletown church. New missions are launched, some of them by the device of street corner preaching. Others grow out of daily vacation Bible schools, started by the National Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. An energetic survey process is instituted by which the Catholic families are located almost as soon as they arrive in town or move from one parish to another.

The model Catholic city must have a parochial school connected with each church. The Catholics of Middletown provide what money they can for the buildings. The Church Extension Society can also be drawn upon for money for this purpose, which comes as an outright gift, not a loan. If the bishop still needs money, he goes to the bank and borrows it outright on his own name. When he needs a large sum, he floats securities through certain companies which specialize in such issues. In either event, the bishop is required to give no public statement of assets or income.

If Middletown is in northern Illinois, the bishop is incorporated. He was made a "corporation sole" by act

**Middletown in Transition* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1937), p. 313.

of the state legislature in 1845—and is still the only one in the state. No public audit is made of his accounts. He is responsible to no trustees or other board. Financially, the Catholic bishops are the only completely autocratic economic entities in the United States. If there is any doubt on this point, let the doubter attempt to learn what is the capitalization and net worth of the "corporation sole," the Archbishop of Chicago, or of any other Catholic prelate. Yet the bishop controls absolutely and without question all Catholic property in his diocese except that of the religious orders, and is the legal authority over all its funds.

II

To provide teachers for the new Catholic schools of Middletown, the bishop calls upon one or more of the hundreds of orders of teaching nuns. Already these orders are providing the teaching staff of 7,647 parochial schools in the United States with their 2,048,723 pupils. Soon the nuns are conducting high school classes in the parochial schools. When enough pupils attend these classes, the bishop decides to erect a Catholic high school in his model city. Twenty years ago, there were not enough of these high schools in the country to merit a separate report in the official directory. Ten years ago there were 966 such schools with 158,352 pupils. In 1943 there were 1,522 schools with 472,474 pupils. Did this swift development just happen or is it the result of a deliberate policy?

The bishop knows. He attends the annual meetings of the hierarchy which are held during November each year in Washington. It is not an accident that one of the strongest departments in the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the hierarchy's organization, is devoted to education. It provides the bishop with an educational information agency, a teacher placement bureau for Catholic teachers, facilities for libraries and for research in Catholic education. It goes to bat in the state legislatures throughout the country or in Congress for legislation which will be to the advantage of Catholic education. Nothing affecting the educational system of the church in this country, which reaches from the parochial and secondary schools to the 769 Catholic colleges and universities and the 193 Catholic seminaries, is alien to this department.

III

How well the bishop and his colleagues of the hierarchy are served by this section of the N.C.W.C. is shown by an incident which occurred in 1940 in Washington. The Selective Service law was under consideration in the national Congress. It was based on the assumption that under our Constitution all men are members of the militia and are therefore equally liable to conscription. As proposed, the law contained a classification system which deferred certain categories including the clergy from military service, but its drafters had rigorously held to the principle that no American was to be exempted. Then the National Catholic Welfare Conference went into action. On August 20 and 21, 1940, some 250 Catholic priests, nuns and seminarians descended in a body on Capitol Hill. Every congressman was interviewed in what a seasoned Washington observer described as "one of the most effective pieces of lobbying I have ever seen." The purpose was to get the Catholic clergy and the 17,000 young men who are studying for the Catholic priesthood *exempted* from the operations of the draft law.* To this end, the lobbyists advocated the exemption of all clergy and theological students.

Their efforts, as the Washington observer noted, were "completely successful." On the day after their visit, members of Congress vied with one another to be the first to introduce amendments to the bill which was under discussion. The measure became law in the form desired by the Roman Catholic Church. This was accomplished entirely by Catholic pressure. No representative Protestant agency sought exemption for ministers or theological students, for the simple reason that such discrimination does not accord with the Protestant conception of the status of the minister in society. Consequently, when the bishop requires more priests for service in Middletown, he is likely to find that the supply is equal to every demand for an expanding church.

IV

To affect deeply and continuously the culture of Middletown, the bishop must have access to the press. He knows that even in a predominantly Protestant community the newspapers will do anything in their power to avoid offending him. They may exploit to the full offenses against the law in which Protestant ministers are involved, but almost never will they mention similar offenses by a Catholic priest. Nevertheless, the bishop can never depend upon a free press actively to promote his program for the Catholicizing of Middletown. So he decides to set up a weekly paper of his own. How can he do this? He is no journalist.

The answer is simple. The bishop confers with the press department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. Through its affiliate, the Catholic Press Association, he finds an editor and a staff. Then the press association puts on a "Catholic Press Week" among the churches of his diocese. Prizes are offered in Catholic schools to the pupil gathering the largest number of subscriptions. Many priests enter a subscription for each family in their parishes. Before long the bishop's newspaper is flourishing.

The trained journalists of the N.C.W.C. press department provide the newspaper with the same news articles, pictures and features which the department sends to 332 other Catholic papers in the United States. Since N.C.W.C. releases amount to around 60,000 words a week, the new editor has only to gather in a couple of columns of diocesan news and some advertisements to have a paper as large as the average newspaper. The bishop knows that the N.C.W.C. news is going to be the kind he wants Middletown Catholics to read. It is prepared under the direct supervision of a committee of the hierarchy by the best Catholic journalists in the country for the 9,000,000 subscribers to the church's press.

*The 1943 *Official Catholic Directory* lists 16,838 men in Catholic seminaries.

It can be taken for granted that the hypothetical bishop who sets out to make Middletown a model Catholic city believes that the influence of the church should make itself felt in the organization of that city's economic life. Once again he turns to the National Catholic Welfare Conference in Washington. This time he addresses Msgr. John A. Ryan, head of the "Social Action" department. Monsignor Ryan helps the bishop to bring to Middletown leadership for a conference on employer-employee relations in industry. Catholic employers and workers sit down together to study the teachings of the recent popes on christianizing the industrial order. Perhaps a Catholic labor organization is formed, such as the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

At another time Monsignor Ryan may help the bishop secure the aid of the Catholic Association for International Peace to hold a conference in which Catholics will study the teachings of St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas and the popes on war and peace. Civic education, social welfare and rural life problems may also be explored in Middletown with the aid of expert N.C.W.C. staff personnel trained in the refinements of Catholic doctrine and continuously engaged in advancing the interests of the Catholic Church in these fields.

V

While all this is going on, the bishop may decide that his model city needs a Catholic hospital. He talks with the officers of the national Catholic Hospital Association in St. Louis. He confers with one of the religious orders whose nuns are dedicated to the ministry of healing. By methods known best to himself he arranges the financing of the project. The hospital association provides expert advice. The building is designed and built by Catholic architects and contractors who specialize in this form of religious service. Soon it is ready to turn over to the nuns to operate as one of 726 Catholic hospitals in the United States.

This accomplished, the bishop may develop a concern that the employees of the institution receive the benefits of the social security law. Since this involves a change in national legislation, he appeals for aid to the legal department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in Washington. This they are prepared to give. The hierarchy have already undertaken to get their religious institutions included in the social security law. The legal department also studies every bill proposed in Congress which could possibly affect any strand of the vast network of Roman Catholic interests, and lobbies on those which the hierarchy considers of primary importance. It "exchanges legislative information with other departments of the N.C.W.C. and gathers legislative information from other countries for the use of the hierarchy." It also gives legal counsel to Catholic bishops concerning bills which appear before any of the 48 state legislatures.

Since he is something of a progressive, as Catholic bishops go, our hypothetical bishop decides to organize the Catholic youth of Middletown and its surrounding diocese. There is no one national organization for Catholic youth, but once again he can turn to the N.C.W.C. and not be disappointed. Its youth department exists not for the promotion of one organization but for the nurture of many. Its skilled counselors advise the bishop how best to serve the church among the youth of the diocese. They provide a National Catholic Youth Council for the leaders of diocesan youth councils and two Catholic student organizations—the National Federation of Catholic College Students and the Newman Club Federation of some 600 clubs. A special committee of bishops supervises the interest of Catholicism in the Boy Scouts. The N.C.W.C. department is very punctilious and precise in its advice concerning collaboration in all such matters. It omits nothing, passing on the suitability for Catholics of all "national, governmental and non-governmental organizations and youth-serving agencies."

With all this accomplished, the bishop of Middletown has no intention of sitting back and waiting for Middletown to grow into a model Catholic city. Deciding that his organizational structure lacks the common touch, he invites two lay organizations to enter his diocese. Once again he appeals to the National Catholic Welfare Conference in Washington. That refers him to the officials of the National Council of Catholic Men and the National Council of Catholic Women. These organizations have set up thousands of parish groups which are immediately responsible to the bishops of the various dioceses. They are ready to organize lay support for a new high school or the Legion of Decency or whatever else the bishop desires. In addition, the men sustain the "Catholic Hour" and other programs on the national radio chains. The women's organization supports the National Catholic School of Social Service in Washington, which trains the personnel by which the bishop gradually takes over the social services of Middletown.

VI

These are some of the actual agencies through which the hypothetical bishop gears his diocese into the complex machinery of the Roman Catholic Church for the winning of America. Nearly all these agencies, as has been noted, head up in the National Catholic Welfare Conference in Washington. The bishop trusts this conference because it is directly and continuously controlled by himself and the other members of the hierarchy. Its office building in the national capital is the real center of Catholic life in America. Its impact on Middletown and thousands of other American communities reveals how prophetic were the words spoken by the Archbishop of San Francisco in 1921: "We have coordinated and united the Catholic power in this country. It now knows where and when it can act and it is encouraged by the consciousness of its unity. We feel ourselves powerful because our union has become visible. All our Catholic organizations report an increase of energy and we do not doubt that, thanks to the N.C.W.C., we can bring Catholic cooperation to its apogee."

This is the second of eight articles on the organization and present operations of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. The third, dealing with the Catholic press, will appear next week.

Penn the Pioneer

By Henry J. Cadbury

SEVERAL anniversaries of William Penn have been celebrated in times past, but none of them has fallen on a year when reminders of his social ideals were more needed than in this, the tercentenary of his birth. To evaluate the whole character of a prismatic personality like his would be a difficult task, especially in view of the extensive and unmanageable historical materials on which a critical estimate must be based. Of Penn's political idealism, however, it is possible to speak with confidence. His enlightened ideals of government are readily recognized. They are clearly expressed in two brief documents, "An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe" and his "Frame of Government" for Pennsylvania, which quite sufficiently show the nature of his political principles. But a man's ideals require the test of his actual application of them and for Penn the opportunity for such a test was offered as to few other political theorists in history.

Born to Politics

Penn was fortunate in his preparation for the role of statesman. He was born into the problems of public life. His father was a public servant of distinction, and Penn never, even as a Quaker, lost his entrée into political circles. His reading in "polity" was as wide and well selected as in many other fields of culture. His experience with the abuses of English law had been both intimate and extensive. He had used the issues to think himself through to a philosophy of government, and his imprisonments had provided him the leisure to crystallize this philosophy—at least part of it—in writing. When in 1681 the grant of Pennsylvania was made, he could therefore write quite truly, "I have been somewhat exercised about the nature and end of government among men."

Democracy in a form extreme for that age was expressed in Penn's constitution. It was his desire that neither he nor his successors should have any "power of doing mischief; so that the will of one man may not hinder the good of the whole country." Nor did he provide for any aristocracy within his province. There was general suffrage in the election of government, which was a representative assembly with features that we should name nowadays "referendum" and "recall."

Religious liberty had long been the subject of Penn's careful thought, and as often as any topic had been defended by him in writing. It was inevitable that it would be writ large and foremost in his "Frame of Government"' and carried through consistently, as far as permitted by the crown, in practice. This point was fundamental. His position here needs no emphasis.

The rights and welfare of criminals were also his concern. He had seen plenty of the abuses of legal procedure in criminal cases in his own experiences in courts and jails and of the injurious effects of current penal practice even when carried out with justice. The penal code of Pennsylvania was the mildest code ever yet adopted and it contained safeguards for the accused. Characteristic of the Quakers' theory and of their meeting practice was the effort to have disputes settled so far as possible by arbitration.

Total disarmament as a policy of security and defense was consistently practiced by the early colony, quite consciously in accordance with Quaker theory. Its success, so long as it was continued and coupled with justice, seems to justify the feelings of those who today regard it as the vindication of the ideal of the "unarmed state." Penn and his successors had plenty of disputes to settle by other than violent means with the adjacent colonies.

Concerning international government as a means toward peace, Penn also expressed himself prophetically and clearly in the now famous essay on the peace of Europe. The combination in it of practical insight and inspired idealism makes the essay one to be read in full rather than quoted or summarized. Here again long afterwards men are realizing the forward-looking character of the Quaker pioneer.

The essay was published in 1693 when war had been raging for five years in Europe. Its occasion explains its motive—the familiar tragedy of war with its attendant ills and its prospect of further evils. Penn understood well enough the usual excuses given by those who wage war—for instance, Cromwell's motto, *Pax quaeritur bello* —but he shrewdly adds, "The use generally made of that expression shows us that, properly and truly speaking, men seek their wills by war rather than peace."

A Parliament of States

Penn's plan is simple. There is to be a parliament of sovereign states. Representation is to be in proportion to the national wealth, and voting is to be by secret ballot. Rules of international conduct are to be adopted legislatively, and all controversies are to be presented and settled judicially. No nation is to be allowed to have the power to dispute or unduly delay a judgment passed against it. The proposal is in fact for an international government, and for precedent Penn appeals not only to the success of the United Provinces of Holland but to other national governments. "That which prevents a civil war in a nation is that which may prevent it abroad, viz., justice." "Government in kingdoms and states prevents men being judges and executioners for themselves, overrules private passions as to injuries or revenge and subjects the great as well as the small to the rule of justice." Penn's suggestion is for a like organization between states.

The advantages which Penn sees in such a plan need hardly be recounted today, when all of them are even more obvious. It is worth noting how fully he anticipated the present discussion in analyzing the four objections that his readers would bring against his proposal. To the objection that the strongest and richest sovereignty

will never agree to it, he replies that even such a state is not stronger than all the rest put together. To the objection that the disuse of the trade of soldiery will produce effeminacy, he suggests the possibilities of discipline as severe as needed in civilian forms of education, while so far as national defense is concerned his plan provides that no state shall be permitted to keep up such a formidable body of troops as to bring danger or even fear to the rest.

The third objection is that without soldiery "there will be great want of employment"; the fourth, "that sovereign princes and states will hereby become not sovereign: a thing they will never endure." To this Penn replies that they remain "as sovereign at home as ever they were." He admits that they can no longer have sovereignty over one another. "And if this be called a lessening of their power, it must be only because the great fish can no longer eat up the little ones, and that each sovereignty is equally defended from injuries and disabled from committing them."

There are many details of the plan which Penn does not sketch in, since the general idea is simple and the arguments for it are plain. Evidently his aim is law and justice rather than security, and the element of coercion is to be more moral than military. Each sovereignty may maintain "a small force," apparently for internal police and for collective use under international agreement. He has no illusion about the safety of leaving "peace-loving nations" heavily armed.

Practical Argument

Penn is not concerned in this essay with expounding his religious pacifism; nor is he appealing to Quaker standards. Like the great Quaker statesman of a later day, John Bright, in appealing to the general public he relied exclusively on the practical and reasonable considerations against war. He knew human nature and his proposal was thoroughly realistic. Probably it was his personal pacifism that enabled him to see more clearly than others the psychological essentials of durable peace.

The essay was produced, not out of a lifelong prejudice, but as a statesmanlike solution of the crying needs of a warring world. That it was not sufficiently heeded to receive a reprinting for two centuries is evidence not of its untimeliness but of the unprogressive nature of international affairs. Acceptance of it remains still upon the list of urgent human agenda. Some features of the plan undoubtedly seem quaint today, but they are not naive. That charge falls rather on those who make "security" more important than justice in world government, or who hope to combine power politics and peace.

As the editor of *Human Events* has lately written: "The great Quaker statesman showed himself far ahead of much contemporary thought in this field. Although a patriotic Englishman, Penn was willing that England should be outrepresented, and even outvoted, in the Council of Great Powers which he outlined. Penn's reliance was consistently on justice, never on mere power as such, and was firmly based on the axiom that governments, like men, cannot be trusted as 'judges in their own cause.'"

In his *Fruits of Solitude* Penn gives some suggestions as to his criticisms of the social order. He does not hesitate to propose that the state should equalize property by taxing the wealthy, in whose estates the public legitimately has an interest, and should interfere with trades that militate against the public good.

Religion in Democracy

It ought not to be supposed that Penn's political philosophy was sundered either theoretically or practically from his religion. It was in no doctrinaire way that he interested himself in reform, nor was his statecraft secular. "Government," he said, "seems to me a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end." His democratic ideals were the result of the distinctly religious tendencies of the age, in which the Friends had no monopoly but only represented the extreme of "leveling." There is a kind of religious faith in the confidence which democracy places in the individual. Modern Friends would associate it with the Inner Light. Bancroft, the historian, rightly praises Penn because unlike other reformers "he did not despair of humanity, and though all history and experience denied the sovereignty of the people, dared to cherish the noble idea of man's capacity for self-government."

It was, therefore, from no selfish motive—pecuniary or even intellectual interest—that Penn undertook the founding of Pennsylvania. "For my country, I eyed the Lord in obtaining it." It was an adventure, but it was a "*holy* experiment." He and his associates were fully aware of its experimental character and of its potential value as a demonstration. They approached their task with seriousness and expectancy. "Religion is on tiptoe in our land," wrote one of them. And they realized that they were experimenting in the full light of publicity. "The eyes of many are upon you," they reminded each other. "Especially the Europeans are desirous to know in what manner Quakers do rule in their province; and most of them do look upon us with an envious eye."

Would Be Barred Today

How far did Penn's idealism succeed? How far did his "country" become what he prayed it might be, "the seed of a nation"? There is no calculus for answering these questions. He himself knew well that it is men, not laws, which make a government good or ill. The constitution of Pennsylvania has affected all subsequent constitutions of that state and the federal Constitution of America. It is an irony that the latter is now so interpreted that it would exclude Penn from citizenship if he came to apply for it, and would exclude him for the very ideal of religious pacifism which was so conspicuous an element in his own colony.

In other directions his testimony has been of great inspiration and influence. His anticipation of the League of Nations was almost forgotten for two centuries, but in unrecorded ways such idealism usually has an enduring effect. The actual success of his experiment is not the only measure. His courage to try should still give courage to all liberal political thinkers who regard government as a concern of religion.

DECEMBER SURVEY OF BOOKS

Solid Ground for Democracy

THE CHILDREN OF LIGHT AND THE CHILDREN OF DARKNESS. *By Reinhold Niebuhr. Charles Scribner's Sons, $2.00.*

DR. NIEBUHR is a master of historical analysis and his powers are shown at their best in this critical discussion of the varying forms of the philosophy of democracy. The book does effectively what its subtitle claims for it: it is "a vindication of democracy and a critique of its traditional defense."

Anti-democratic theory, says Dr. Niebuhr, is derived from the pessimism of such men as Thomas Hobbes and Martin Luther. It supports authoritarianism because it has a low view of human nature. It insists that the egoism of the individual is so great that public order can be maintained only by repressive measures exerted from the top. But this argument makes a double mistake. On the one hand, "human intelligence is never . . . as purely the instrument of the ego as is assumed by the anti-democratic theory." On the other hand, that theory falsely identifies the interest of the ruler with that of the community, and fails to recognize the egoism of national groups and the inordinate ambition of rulers corrupted by the possession of too much power.

The argument of the authoritarian "realists" is thus shown to be both too pessimistic and not realistic enough. Man is not so bad that he cannot muddle through fairly successfully when given a chance under a democratic constitution with reasonable checks and balances. But he is so bad that the pride and selfishness of rulers, especially when endowed with the enormous power given by modern machinery and techniques of propaganda, will run the state to ruin unless subjected to the checks of democratic constitutionalism.

Thus democracy is vindicated, not as containing the promise of perfection or of easy progress toward it, but as the only alternative to increasing chaos, repression and bitterness. It holds out no promise of utopia, but it is something better than the least of alternative evils. If maintained with intelligence, vigilance and a sufficient degree of the unselfishness and humility inspired by high religion, it may continue to give shelter for the cultivation of the finer flowers of life.

But democracy is endangered not only by the attacks of its enemies but by the sentimental blindness of its own supporters. The "children of light," who believe that self-interest should be brought under a higher law, have for the most part underestimated the power of self-will. Among their commonest and most serious fallacies is the assumption that selfishness seeks as its ultimate goal nothing more than self-preservation, failing to see how pride and the sense of insecurity drive it into a lust for power. Thus they fail to appreciate the need of that high sense of duty and humble self-criticism which are the fruits of religion and which religion alone can cultivate in sufficient degree. The "children of darkness," who recognize no law beyond their own will and interest, are well aware of this inordinate and overweening drive of human self-will. In the possession of this knowledge they show themselves wiser than the "children of light."

This general thesis is applied by the writer to a study of the problems of property, group tensions, and the creation of a world community. The conclusions drawn are sobering but not unduly pessimistic; they are even moderately optimistic. The chapter on world community especially should be read by those perfectionists who join their voices with the "children of darkness" in critically rejecting every plan for a world order that is sufficiently realistic to have a chance of general acceptance and success.

The book contains very little theology, but the only important reference to the subject is unfortunate. Dr. Niebuhr rightly emphasizes the soundness and balance of the Christian view of man as a creature capable of both good will and selfishness, a being who commonly can walk humbly with his God and always needs to. He also rightly recognizes that the truth of this view has been dimmed to modern eyes by the obscurantism with which it has been associated. Yet he persists in perpetuating this difficulty by linking this Christian conception with the doctrine of original sin which was unnecessarily dragged into it by Pauline Hebraism, and which has historically been connected with so many unethical ideas as to create a negative reaction in the modern mind against everything associated with it. However, this is a very minor criticism of a brilliant and exceedingly valuable book.

A. CAMPBELL GARNETT.

But It Ends Well

FOREIGN POLICY BEGINS AT HOME. *By James P. Warburg. Harcourt, Brace & Company, $2.50.*

ONE MIGHT have expected something better from Mr. Warburg than this disappointing book. Until last February he was active in the work of OWI, and for years he has been intimately acquainted with many of the New Deal men and activities. His contention that domestic and foreign policy are interrelated is obviously true and important. Yet the impression left after a careful perusal of this volume is confusing and contradictory. There are perhaps three reasons for this failure of the book to come to focus.

In the first place, the author is surprisingly careless with his historical facts. This might be because he undertakes to present in fewer than two hundred pages a review of American foreign policy from 1783 to 1944. Indeed he concedes in the foreword that his work is "almost a primer." But unhappily it is not even an accurate primer. For example: it is not true that the nazis "invented the fiction of the German Aryan 'master race'" (p. 42); it is not correct to say that "in 1822 the Spanish colonies in Latin America declared their independence from Spain" (p. 63); Wilson's "peace without victory" program was not "embodied in the famous Fourteen Points" (p. 76), nor were these a "unilateral declaration" when the war ended in 1918 (p. 174); the Kerensky regime in Russia in 1917 was not "undermined from the start" by the French and British governments (p. 76); Japan did not secure any possessions in the Pacific "under mandate from Germany" (p. 91); the Hoare-Laval agreement was not signed in October 1935 (p. 110); the so-called "Curzon line" was never the accepted eastern border of Poland (pp. 92, 153). There are more errors, but these will suffice to show the factual carelessness which mars Mr. Warburg's "primer."

In the second place, the author makes a number of questionable generalizations. His categorical statements about Britain's relations to the survival of the Monroe Doctrine are a case in point. His analysis of the Russian revolutions of 1917 is most undiscriminating, and so is his summary

of the German revolution just preceding and following the armistice of 1918. His assertion that President Wilson "did not really understand the vital interests of the American people in foreign affairs" (p. 70) is certainly dubious. His statement of the causes and results of Allied intervention in Russia in 1918-19 is injudicious and unfair. So are his comments about Poland. His remarks about the "sad condition of Congress" (p. 34) are unjustified, as is his summary of the Washington Disarmament Conference of 1921-22 (pp. 90-92). To support these and similar sweeping statements Warburg cites almost no proof of any sort; indeed, references to the works of careful scholars in the fields through which he so lightly trips are conspicuously absent.

Finally, the author has apparently fallen victim to one of the intellectual perils of our time of which there were countless evidences in the recent political campaign—the danger of selecting certain facts only and compelling them to support a thesis. Mr. Warburg's argument in the book is that the United States and all the major United Nations, save the U.S.S.R. alone, are failing in the ideological aspects of the present war. In other words, unless we can crush "fascism" at home we shall not win the war abroad. In support of this contention he sets forth a definition of fascism which is so loose that it would apply *mutatis mutandis* to communism. Then he presents a miscellany of fact and generalization which in his opinion confirms his definition and thesis. Comment has already been made on the accuracy of many of these statements. Rarely in the book is there balance or discrimination in discussing important points. Straw men are set up and triumphantly knocked down. Important facts which might alter the picture are glossed over or minimized when they are so apparent that they cannot be wholly omitted.

The best chapters of the book are the last two entitled "Prospects for Peace" and "What We Can Do." Here Mr. Warburg is free from the problem of harmonizing a thesis with the stubborn facts of the past, and he says some sensible and helpful things about American attitudes and intellectual outlook in the years ahead. If he had left out all but the last fifty pages of his book, he would have had a useful little pamphlet. As it is, the good at the end is outweighed by the portions which precede it.

J. Duane Squires.

For a Democratic Peace

The Tyrants' War and the Peoples' Peace. *By Ferdinand A. Hermens. University of Chicago Press, $2.75.*

THIS brilliant little book is a reply to the prejudices and hysterical clamor of many people. It is an answer not only to the sensationalists who picture all Germans as incurable aggressors but also to those who believe that only a peace based upon force and indefinite policing can last. The author, who left Germany in 1934 and is now an associate professor of political science at Notre Dame, makes an eloquent plea for a peace of reconciliation founded upon the encouragement and support of democratic governments in the defeated countries.

A most valuable feature of the book is the author's critical analysis of numerous legends which have found lodgment in the minds of well meaning people. Among those he reduces to tatters are the following: (1) that Germany is incapable of democracy; (2) that the Junkers and big industrialists "invented" Hitler in order to advance their own schemes for world conquest; (3) that the nazis have captured the entire youth of Germany; (4) that the nazis have successfully indoctrinated the German people with *Herrenvolk* theories; (5) that the German government borrowed more from the United States during the 1920's than it ever paid to the Allies in reparations; (6) that overwhelming force in the possession of the victors after this war, and complete disarmament of the vanquished, will guarantee peace; (7) that the present rulers of the United Nations clearly perceived the menace of nazism from the beginning. Concerning the last, the following quotation from an article written by Winston Churchill in 1937 makes interesting reading: "One may dislike Hitler's system and yet admire his patriotic achievement. If our country were defeated I hope we should find a champion as indomitable to restore our courage and lead us back to our place among the nations."

One hesitates to criticize a book so distinguished for humane and sensible reasoning. It would seem, however, that the author attaches far too much importance to proportional representation as a cause of the downfall of the Weimar republic. Undoubtedly the multitude of political parties and the consequent instability of government under that republic contributed to its death. But no mere change in constitutional mechanics would have sufficed to save it. As the author himself recognizes in another connection, the nazis gained power because millions of people had become convinced that "things must change"; and so great was the feeling of insecurity as a result of deflation and economic collapse that almost any change was looked upon as a change for the better. To be sure, the nazis never received a majority of the votes, not even after Hitler had been chancellor for two months. But the weakness of the opposition was due not merely to the fact that it was divided; it was due even more to the fact that parties like the Centrists and Social Democrats were identified in popular belief with a government which had failed to save the country from economic disaster.

Edward McN. Burns.

For Preachers Only

We Preach Not Ourselves. *By Gordon Poteat. Harper & Brothers, $2.00.*

WRITTEN primarily for preachers, this little book goes to the heart of some things which are bothering many thoughtful preachers today. It raises two vital questions: What is back of the loss of authority in much modern preaching? Can a preacher use the Bible as the background and basis for his pulpit message today and still be loyal and faithful to the scientific method?

"There can be no doubt," says the author in his opening chapter, "that many ministers who have undergone the discipline of the critical and historical study of the biblical research which is the curriculum of modern theological schools have found it extremely difficult to use the Bible in their preaching except by way of occasional illustration." With the passing of the old, authoritarian type of Bible preaching and of the premise upon which it was based, are the preachers of today left without any Bible to preach? "Back to the Bible, but how?" This is the question which the author raises and attempts to answer.

The answer is by way of demonstration rather than argument. Instead of abstract principles we are given concrete illustrations. The form of the demonstration is a careful, illuminating exposition of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. In the words of Dr. Poteat: "The purpose of these studies is to use the fine resources which historical methods of study have provided in order to enter into the thought and experience of the apostle Paul as he undertook to relate

the mind of Christ to the solution of the problems of the members of the church in Corinth. This is in order to discover in what measure his thought and experience may be suggestive in the handling of such problems today, particularly insofar as such problems are dealt with in preaching."

Dr. Poteat's exposition is not intended to take the place of a commentary on I Corinthians. Within the limits he sets for himself, however, he fulfills his purpose, and makes this letter a valuable source of preaching material for the modern preacher.

Chapters 2 to 6—"Why the Church," "Scandal and Folly," "Brass or Gold," "Like Priest Like People" and "Compromising the Church"—deal with the church and particularly with many of the grave problems within the modern church. Chapters 7 and 8—"Liberty or License?" and "Rights and Responsibilities"—are concerned with issues which are increasingly important for today's pulpit and offer many helpful leads for vital preaching material. Chapters 9 and 10—"Form and Substance" and "Deathless Life"—discuss two problems which modern preaching cannot dodge: the tendency, especially among the numerous and rapidly growing Protestant sects, to substitute "ecstatic speech" and pure emotionalism for ethical and moral conduct; and the widespread interest in the question of life after death.

In his exposition of the thirteenth chapter of Paul's letter, the author holds that the apostle planted "ethics firmly at the center of the Christian religion." In his discussion of the fifteenth chapter, he declares that belief in Jesus' resurrection from the dead is basic to the existence of the Christian religion. "The religion and ethics, the faith and works of Christianity, are inseparable. Christianity is not a wooden structure of separate parts nailed carelessly together; it is a living organism and if struck in its vital spot it dies."

B. H. Bruner.

Our Wavering Diplomacy

America and Two Wars. *By Dexter Perkins. Little, Brown & Company, $2.00.*

THE 1944 election dispelled many lingering doubts about the willingness of a majority of the American people to participate in an attempt to establish a lasting peace. Unfortunately, a willingness to participate in world affairs is not sufficient. It must be reinforced, on the part of a substantial and aggressive body of citizens, with both a knowledge of our diplomatic history and the ability to face, sanely and realistically, the problems of the future.

Professor Dexter Perkins, known to many as the author of that excellent volume, *Hands Off, A History of the Monroe Doctrine,* has made a substantial contribution to the resolving of the above requirements. Out of the depth of his scholarship, with common sense and in a quietly pleasing style, he has written a simple account of our diplomatic history during the last forty-five years which will seem intelligible and intelligent to the layman.

The author chooses a significant year—1898—for his starting point. In that year the United States entered upon its career as a world power; in that year also Germany began the construction of a great navy. Though 1898 is the official starting point, Professor Perkins goes back through the preceding decades to trace the beginnings of our emergence from a policy of isolation.

The diplomacy of the First World War is treated in three commendable chapters, covering the years from 1914 to 1917, our diplomacy during the period in which we were participating in the struggle, and the Treaty of Versailles. Nowhere does Mr. Perkins' objectivity show to more advantage than in his survey of these difficult periods. He admires Woodrow Wilson and recognizes his qualities of greatness; he also perceives Wilson's weaknesses and indicates his mistakes.

A summary of the two intermediate decades is followed by an outstanding chapter in which America's policy and attitude in 1914 and 1939 are compared. The last historical chapter deals with our war diplomacy down to the first of the present year. Professor Perkins not only writes so clearly and easily that non-historians can read without the bewilderment which comes from being beyond one's depth, but he, more than any other author known to this reviewer, shows the threads of continuity and the changing attitudes of the people. The result is a clear, impartial background with which to approach the final and most challenging chapter: "The Past, Its Lessons, and the Future."

Mr. Perkins lists three major prerequisites of peace: the effective disarmament of Japan and Germany for a long time; the harmonious cooperation of the victor nations; and "the evolution of institutions for the better solution of the broad economic and political problems of the international society." Space does not allow a summary of the excellent development of solutions to these prerequisites. In keeping with the previous chapters, this is marked by clarity of expression, objectivity of thought and coolheaded realism. Obstacles are noted, but there is an underlying current of optimism. Especially noteworthy are the comments relative to future American-Russian relations.

This is an important and an interesting book. It deserves to be read, thoughtfully, by many Americans.

Ralph Adams Brown.

Pamphlets from Penn

A Plan for a Parliament of Nations. *By William Penn. Peace and Service Committee, 1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, 15 cents.*

William Penn's Advice to His Children. *Friends' Council on Education, Philadelphia, 25 cents.*

No Cross No Crown. *By William Penn. Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pa., 25 cents.*

THIS tercentenary year of William Penn has brought to publication well made pamphlet editions of three of his writings. To the sponsoring groups within the Society of Friends, the republication of any Penn work in pamphlet form must seem wholly fitting, for William Penn himself was a most prolific pamphleteer, writing, along with weightier works, something over one hundred tracts of varying lengths. In several cases these brief publications were either lengthened into full-sized books or united with others to make the major works with which we are now familiar. Also, as two of the editors of the 1944 publications note, William Penn was greatly in favor of planning books for utility's sake, "not burdensome to the minds and pockets of too many."

Most timely of the three pamphlets is the reprint of *A Plan for a Parliament of Nations.* Like others of his time, William Penn used his titlepage as table of contents and preface as well. The subtitle of this is, "An Essay toward the Present and Future Peace of Europe by the Establishment of an European Diet, Parliament, or Estates." A copy of this early league of nations plan was presented to Queen Anne and later read in the peace convention held in Paris during her reign. Readers today find this survey of the predicament of nations following devastation by war familiar reading, like something from the daily press. Many of the

plan's provisions are still practical. Since the Penn plan was one of the earliest of its kind, it has been the subject of much inquiry.

William Penn's Advice to his Children contains two brief works originally published separately: "Letter to his Wife and Children" and "Fruits of a Father's Love." In modern format they seem more personal and moving than in earlier editions. The first letter particularly is so tenderly affectionate that the reader is glad to note that it was not printed for public perusal until eighty years after its writing. Elizabeth Janet Gray, author of a biography of Penn, writes an introduction so kindred in spirit that it must seem to many an indispensable part of the work.

No Cross No Crown, which might well be called Penn's masterpiece, is published here in abridged form. Ann Brinton, who edits it and writes foreword and introduction, carefully explains the plan of abridgement. She notes the fact that the earliest edition (1669) was also in pamphlet form, containing little more than a hundred pages. Useful information concerning the book's progress through various editions is given together with a listing of its translations.

MARY GOULD OGILVIE.

A Cosmic Christ

THE CROSS AND THE ETERNAL ORDER. *By Henry W. Clark. The Macmillan Company, $2.50.*

FOR THE AUTHOR of this volume, the death of Jesus was a cosmic event of unparalleled importance. Because it is of supreme concern to God in the furtherance of his redemptive plan, man must pass beyond the range of human experience to grasp its full significance and must view Calvary from the standpoint of him who is "the source of the entire world process, initiating and maintaining it for a purpose specially and exclusively his own." The purpose of creation is consummated when man finds himself back to, and merged with, the divine source from which he originally came. This is made possible by a personality movement that enables man "to move of himself out of himself into God." Unification results from the complete harmonization of the human with the divine will, which involves the surrender neither of man's freedom of choice nor of his individuality.

Sin upset the divine plan; and, parenthetically, it raises the problem of evil if God is the source of all cosmic activity—a problem ignored by the author. The havoc played by sin made it necessary for God to devise a plan of redemption. Forgiveness as exercised by man was inadequate for his purpose. Man's condition called for a new dynamic adequate to vanquish sin. The incarnated Christ "threw down the challenge of a new cosmic force before the cosmic force which was drawing the world's life astray," a new force designed to turn the life-movement of humanity Godward again.

With a metaphysic that should satisfy the most ardent lover of metaphysical labyrinths, Dr. Clark maintains that, as the Creator and Sustainer of the world, Christ was immanent in all things until his immanence was withdrawn from man at Calvary. It was awareness of the withdrawal of his immanence from man that wrung from him on the cross the agonizing cry: "My God, why hast thou forsaken me?" A new act in the divine drama began with Christ's resurrection, when the Christ who died unto sin (not for men's sins, but unto the totality of the world's evil—an act of cosmic significance) emerged from the tomb as the living, universal Redeemer. By placing the cardinal emphasis on the living Christ, rather than on Jesus' death, Dr. Clark claims accord with Pauline and early Nicene Greek thought. Augustine was chiefly responsible for Latin theology, which applied to Jesus' death such Roman legal terms as assize, judge, debt, substitution and satisfaction. He dominated medieval thinking and survived into post-Reformation days. Dr. Clark holds Latin theology responsible for prevailing false conceptions of the significance of Jesus' death. Only by linking Christ's death with his resurrection can we arrive at a true estimate of either. Christ's conquest of sin and death by his own death and resurrection marked the beginning of a fresh divine approach to man and the exercise of a divine power equal to man's redemption.

Redemption involves the alignment of man with the living Christ. Inasmuch as he is for or against Christ, every man is either a Christian or he is not. Dr. Clark accepts Jesus' clear-cut classification of sheep and goats in his parable of the Last Judgment, though he is not unmindful of the handicap of man's limited knowledge to pass judgment on his neighbor's spiritual status. Faith is man's response to the living Christ. It involves dying with Christ unto sin and sharing his resurrection power. Dr. Clark defends, though not convincingly, newness of life in Christ against the charge of mysticism (why he should, I do not know) by stressing the differences between the two experiences. Divine wrath and pardon he deals with in their cosmic setting. Divine wrath finds expression in renewed effort to conquer sin, whereas pardon is the consequence of restored alignment with the divine life-dynamic. Although insistent that God's cosmic plan of redemption ("cosmic" scarcely seems applicable to a plan severely restricted to a Christian way of life which only a small minority seem capable of following) cannot be defeated, the author displays misgivings when he pictures a hell of souls too sin-hardened to respond to divine love and inclines toward a second coming of Christ as necessary to insure the success of the redemptive plan. The last chapter is a defense of the author's position in the light of several philosophies.

WILLIAM E. HAMMOND.

A Poets' Poet

THE SUMMER LANDSCAPE. *By Rolfe Humphries. Charles Scribner's Sons, $1.75.*

OAKS which are to possess the centuries grow slowly in the decades. Other growths take the eye—fragile poplars, birches soon to decay, flowers of a week, flaunting weeds. It is so with poetry. It is fortunate, therefore, that Rolfe Humphries is no albino birch or fashionable thistle, but an oak. In 1928 his first book, the brilliant *Europa,* was published; and in 1942 *Out of the Jewel,* a book of grave intensity and brave integrity—one of the few books of American poetry since Frost's *New Hampshire.* Now the slighter but almost intenser *The Summer Landscape* shows him one of the few not only called but also chosen.

The Summer Landscape is not for devotees of bizarre technique or worshipers of "message." It is the pure grave intensity of a mature spirit who, traversing modern experimentation, avoids cerebrality and trick. The forms are often novel and always new; the perfect music, the ore-freighted brevity of imagery, are ultra-modern; but there is no ghost-Catholicism of an Eliot, no nihilism of a Jeffers invoking mineral Nirvana, no subjective nightmares of an Aiken. It says yes to life, with a beauty stern but rich.

The first poem, "The Image," gives the key. Humphries sees his desire become design: an "angel motionless," an "observer without menace . . ."

And his name
I think I know—his name is like my need:
Composure, who receives illumination.

The book (save perhaps the gloss-word puzzle of "La Belle Dame Sans Merci") has composure and illumination. "The Exiles"—a great poem—is a chant of pity for those who grow strange and suffer in even the best of alien lands; the sudden close—an oblique light from eternity—strikes with strange beautiful chill:

This is what happens not alone
To men from Germany and Spain
And other lands remoter far—
We have this sickness, wish in vain
We were not exiles. But we are.

For we too are exiles from eternity; aliens in time.

Here are superb poems. In "Coming Home," the walker in the city night, surrounded by the wheel and blur of veering lights and shadows, wonders if he is real. But

. . . if a light is broken,
If one of them goes out,
As well they may, of course,
And substance takes from shadow
Its absolute divorce,
Be reassured, in darkness
The self is never lost.

And, with the utter candor of faith beyond fear, in "The Summer Landscape" he faces the horrible men who happen—the ugly and mean, the murderers, the perverts, the suicides, the adulterers hunting women whose "open kiss" tastes like water in a jar "where flowers have stood too long . . .": he knows that all exist in the soul (and so in *his*); so, lest they slay, he slays them—in himself. Here is the high noble wit of "Variations on a Theme"; the mystical realism, the fantasia of time in terms of baseball, "Polo Grounds"; the gorgeous color of "From the North Terrace," where autumn trees charge the afternoon like a football team. And in the lovely, profound "Meditation" the modern mind at last discovers its soul. In all the volume, indeed, Humphries stands

Sentient above the confusion,
The spume and the spate.

Here at last is a contemporary poet. Out of the sheer deep life of the spirit, beyond all mere cerebral tricks that are so fashionable, he moves intense and grave and strong and richly beautiful. Mastery, direction, meaning, the synthesis of candor with faith, the grace of the proud humble spirit, the paste that has become pearl, distinguish his splendid work. He has left the Waste Land and emerged on the side of the Interpreter's House with far glimpses of the Delectable Mountains. His poetry may be, in these decades, "too intrinsic for renown"; but the centuries will lay the laurel here. The volume is a victory and an event.

E. Merrill Root.

Claude Williams

A Faith to Free the People. *By Cedrick Belfrage. Dryden Press, $2.75.*

THIS is the third edition of the story of a modern prophet—the story of Claude Williams, his boyhood in a sharecropper's family, his early career as an ardent "hit-the-sawdust-trail" evangelist, his conversion to an apostleship for the social gospel and his experiences since. If Amos or Isaiah were living today and Belfrage wrote his story, it would read very much like this of Claude Williams. Like them, Williams applies his gospel of justice and righteousness on behalf of the underprivileged with an emphatic declamation and a realism that takes into account all the conditions under which they suffer. He denounces the evils imposed upon them with the vehemence of an Amos, preaches justice on their behalf with the emphasis and clarity of an Isaiah, and for his pains has suffered many of the tribulations that were their lot.

He has been run out of cities where he proclaimed his social gospel, has been jailed and kept incommunicado, denied the right of attorney, threatened with death, beaten literally with many lashes like Paul of old, and has been denounced under every vicious title customarily employed in modern times by those who disapprove and even hate one who pleads for the underdog in those tones of justice and righteous indignation that reflect upon the sons of privilege and their way of running the world. Again as Amos of old, ecclesiastics have denounced him as dangerous, thrown him out of his church and left him no alternative but to organize his own work as an "Institute of Applied Religion." But not all churches, for he is now engaged by a synodical missionary group in Detroit to work among the hundreds of sharecropper preachers who have gone there to earn some cash in the war production industries. Some day they will return to their sharecropper congregations, and Claude's business is to try to interpret to them the teachings of the Holy Scriptures, to which they are devoted, in terms of their lives, their homes, their communities, their stake in the cotton fields, their wage, and in the organization of the farm industry in which fate has condemned them to seek a livelihood.

Williams has been accused of being a fellow traveler with the Communists but those who know him know that he is not a red, a "fellow traveler" or a fanatic, but just a free-lance preacher of social righteousness who fears no man, sticks to his gospel, is interested in nothing but an application of scriptural teachings to the problems of the underprivileged and delivers his witness openly. As he himself declares, he is "a fellow traveler with no one but that man on Calvary's hill."

Belfrage writes a thrilling story. Those who believe that the Kingdom of God ought to come on earth, that only as you "do it unto these least" you do it unto the Master, that wage earners', tenants' and sharecroppers' one hope is in organizing for mutual protection and benefit, that the gospel can be so preached to the poor and uncultured as to reach them without the excesses of the emotional sects, and that the minister of today, like Paul, should become "all things to all men, that by all means they may save some"—those who believe this will find this book enthralling, even though they sometimes disagree. It is not only a story of a brilliant mind bringing deep social meanings out of the Scripture, and a tale of matchless faith and courage, but also a depiction of the worst social evils of the "Bible Belt," brought into startling contrast to the gospel when it is preached without concern for conventions, institutionalism or any ulterior purpose.

Alva W. Taylor.

Books in Brief

Escape via Berlin. *By José Antonio de Aguirre. The Macmillan Company, $3.00.*

Aguirre was "president of the Basque Republic." That in itself is a story, for there never really was a Basque Republic, though Basque autonomy was voted by the Spanish Cortes, of which Aguirre was a member, just about the time the Franco insurrection was starting. The civil war in Spain

destroyed the new republic in the bud and made its president a refugee in France. But that provided only a breathing spell, for when Franco's nazi friends became the masters of France the refugee was forced to seek a new asylum. The least dangerous way of getting out was first to get farther in—hence "escape via Berlin," with a Panama passport identifying him as a "Dr. Alvarez." Thereafter the plot steadily thickened until it was finally resolved by escape to America. This is a remarkably colorful and vivid story which not only recites a series of exciting adventures among friends and enemies who could not always be easily distinguished, but also reveals some of the political intricacies in which an anti-Franco Spaniard found himself involved in nazi-dominated Europe.

VERDICT ON INDIA. *By Beverely Nichols. Harcourt, Brace & Company, $2.50.*

The British novelist who writes this book went to India something over a year ago as a newspaper writer. He fell ill and remained there a year. In his view, Indian nationalism is a myth. There are no Indians, he says, but only Hindus, Moslems, farmers, money-lenders, manufacturers and the innumerable untouchables. The author is very critical of British architecture, including that of New Delhi, which is seen everywhere in India, but is generally favorable to British Indian policy. He regards Hinduism as sanctified depravity but on the whole approves of the Moslems. He believes that Indian journalism has small respect for the truth, that Indian films are stagnant but may some day come to life, that neither the painting nor the music of that country can "be regarded as a serious art." He regards Gandhi as a dictator and the program of the National Congress party as fascism. He admires Jinnah and thinks his proposal to divide India into Hindu and Moslem nations is feasible. He believes that Britain should "quit India" after it has supervised the division of the country as Jinnah proposes and after it has trained an Indian army. The author's style of writing is popular and confident and the book contains some passages of great beauty.

DOCTORA IN MEXICO, THE LIFE OF DR. KATHERINE NEEL DALE. *By Olive Floyd. G. P. Putnam's Sons, $3.50.*

Dr. Dale, a missionary doctor under the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, spent about forty years in Mexico. She and her husband did a remarkable work in medicine, education and evangelism among some especially needy groups of Mexican Indians. The biographer writes: "The Catholic Indian spends his life interceding with the gods and dreading their evil designs upon him. In his feverish desire to shield himself, he makes use of every power that can keep him from falling an unwilling victim to them—the witch doctor with his black art or the padre of the church with his miraculous holy water." No remark about Mexico is so familiar as that it is a land of contrasts. There are great areas on the cultural level here indicated, and others that are very different. Even among the most superstitious there are contrasting qualities, including some very admirable ones. The story of this missionary adventure is both colorful and inspiring. It is well written by an author who knew both the "doctora" and the country in which she worked.

YOUNG'UN. *By Herbert Best. The Macmillan Company, $2.50.*

Some time ago Mr. Best bought himself an abandoned hillside farm in upper New York state and, since he was in the habit of inventing stories and moreover had learned a great deal about the history of the region, he invented a story about his farm, turning back in time to the 1790's. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that he invented characters to populate his farm and the surrounding countryside, for the plot is of the slightest—how the Post children, Deborah, Dan'l and Young'un (otherwise Viney), carried on with the homestead after their mother died and their father deserted them, and grew to self-reliant adulthood. Out of these elements the author has made an authentic and flavorsome picture of pioneer life, with its hardships, its demands on courage and ingenuity, its narrowness of outlook and its lusty recreations. Americans who cannot take their cultural history "straight"—and also those who can—will enjoy reading it.

Books Received

Paul for Everybody. By Chester Warren Quimby. Macmillan, $2.00. (To be reviewed.)

Encyclopedia of Bible Life. By Madeline S. Miller and J. Lane Miller. Harper, $4.95. (To be reviewed.)

The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths. By John Adair. University of Oklahoma Press, $4.00. (To be reviewed.)

Seven Pillars of Peace. By Fulton J. Sheen. Scribners, $1.75. The pillars are: good will, morality, property, personality, family, freedom and world unity. Monsignor Sheen discusses them trenchantly, in something less than 100 pages of text, and with rather careful avoidance of anything that would give offense to those who think the world needs Christianity, but not necessarily Roman Catholicism, as the foundation of its peace. The specific Catholic implications are there but they are not flaunted, not even in the chapter on freedom.

Unfolding Drama in Southeast Asia. By Basil Mathews. Friendship Press, $1.00. A compact and meaty volume on the peoples of the western Pacific, southeast Asia and the East Indies—their races and religions, the history of their relations with Occidental powers and culture, their aspirations and prospects, and the responsibility of the Christian church for missionary programs which will promote their total welfare in the dangerous future.

It's a Wise Parent. By Mollie Stevens Smart and Russell Cook Smart. Scribners, $2.00. The foolish parent may be started on the way to parental wisdom, and the wise one made wiser still, by giving attention to the helpful suggestions pleasantly conveyed by these competent advisers. The style is informal, but the evidence accumulates, as one reads, that these authors know all they need to know about the psychological and other scientific aspects of their theme, and they certainly have an intimate first-hand acquaintance with children.

The Presidency and the Crisis, Powers of the Office from the Invasion of Poland to Pearl Harbor. By Louis William Koenig. King's Crown Press (Columbia University), $2.00. Even if this volume had been received before the election, a review of it would not have given much support to criticism of the President for arbitrary and unwarranted extension of his powers. The author's view—on the basis of an extended presentation of the President's constitutional powers and the use made of them in the period indicated—is that the provisions of the Constitution are flexible enough to permit the President to do almost anything, or at least to do everything he did, if Congress is willing to go along by providing the funds and by refraining from adverse or restrictive action. The monograph merits careful study by those who would either defend or deny the constitutionality of executive actions. Appendices give digests of statutory provisions giving the President discretionary powers in the military and economic fields.

The Light is Still Shining, The Gospel of John for a Troubled World. By Stuart R. Oglesby. Revell, $2.00. The author, minister of Central Presbyterian Church in Atlanta, presents a series of expositions, which might have been sermons or easily could be, designed to apply the resources of the Fourth Gospel to the present needs of individuals and society. The title is suggested by Goodspeed's illuminating translation of John 1:5, "The light is still shining in the darkness for the darkness has never put it out."

Catholics View Farm Problems

Belief in Land as Cushion for Postwar Economic Distress Is Expressed at Annual Rural Life Conference

(Correspondence from Southern Ohio)

CINCINNATI, Nov. 22.—"Channeling back to the land all those who came from the land" was urged as a solution to postwar unemployment by Bishop Joseph H. Schlarman of Peoria, Ill., at the 22nd annual meeting of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, which convened here Nov. 10 with some 5,000 persons in attendance. One day was devoted to education, one to rural life and another to postwar reconstruction. Opening the conference, Rev. Francis J. McGoey of King, Ont., declared that the greatest cure for communism was "to give a man a cow." Bishop Griffin of Trenton, N. J., decried the construction of elegant churches in city parishes already on the decline when a large number of small churches and schools in rural areas might have been provided by the funds.

* * *

Plead for Farming As Way of Life

Opposition to efforts by the United Mine Workers to organize farmers was expressed by Msgr. L. G. Ligutti of Des Moines, executive secretary of the conference, who declared that "the profit motive is not the highest or most essential element" in agriculture. "The farm," he said, "is not only a means of livelihood; it is the basis of a home." Will Lissner, editor of the *American Journal of Economics,* called for a reform in the prevailing system of land tenure. "We have been driving the small farmer from the land," he said, "by an agricultural policy dominated by the needs of the factory and the commercial farmers to the exclusion of family farmers." Sister Mary Mark of Houghton, Iowa, pleaded for renovation of rural education in favor of a course of study that would stress the satisfactions to be had in farming as against industrial employment in the cities. Cooperatives and credit unions were lauded as essential to an effective rural church program.

* * *

Methodist Union Sponsors Church for the Deaf

The Methodist "Crusade for Christ" finds itself handicapped in this state just now by changes in leadership. Bishop Smith has been transferred to Columbus; Earl Brown, formerly superintendent of the Cleveland district, has joined the staff of the Board of Missions in New York; Robert McClure, who held a similar position in the Lima district, has become president of Ohio Northern University. Bishop Smith is to introduce the crusade to this city at a meeting of denominational leaders Dec. 10. At the annual meeting of the Methodist union, held at Hyde Park Church recently, Gaither P. Warfield, former missionary in Poland, was the speaker. The union's outstanding achievement during the year was the housing of the Cameron Church of the Deaf in the renovated Asbury Church.

* * *

Machine Helps Taft In Close Contest

The Ed Schorr political machine, which is regarded by liberals here much as those of Hague and Kelly are by residents of New Jersey and Chicago, came through the election with head bloody but unbowed. It is conceded that had Senator Taft's distinguished opponent been a little better known, the machine could not have saved the day for the senator. As it was, the machine's candidate for governor, James Garfield Stewart, mayor of Cincinnati, famous for blessing bingo and quoting Scripture, was defeated by the mayor of Cleveland, who has all along been a foe of gambling and whose record of friendliness for all forward-looking movements made scriptural support unnecessary. The C.I.O. and other groups worked hard to defeat Taft, less because of his isolationism than because of his thoroughgoing conservatism.

* * *

And So Forth

Warren C. Taylor, for the past 12 years pastor of the Forest Avenue Baptist Church in Des Moines and a former correspondent of The Christian Century, has taken up his duties as director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in this area.

"Men of Knox," the largest Presbyterian men's Bible class in the city, celebrated its 23rd anniversary recently, with Dr. Carl Wilzbach, city health commissioner and prominent churchman, as speaker.

Kennedy Heights Presbyterian Church has just observed its 35th anniversary. Lester Kemper is pastor.

More than 1,500 members of the Evangelical-Reformed and Congregational Christian churches united in a Reformation Day service in Emory Auditorium.

Roland A. Skeel is the new minister at First Federated Church, and Richard A. Burrows at Clifford Church. F. B. McAllister is back in his pulpit at the Ninth Street Baptist Church after an illness.

Five New Thought groups now operate here in place of the once powerful New Thought Temple, which, however, appears to retain most of its membership with an increasingly Protestant program.

JOHN M. VERSTEEG.

E. E. Aubrey Installed As Crozer President

Edwin E. Aubrey, professor of Christian theology and ethics at the University of Chicago since 1929, was inaugurated president of Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa., Oct. 31. Dr. Aubrey, who came to this country from Scotland in 1913, has spent his entire professional career up to now at the University of Chicago. He is the author of a number of books on theological subjects and has been active in interchurch projects and in Northern Baptist affairs.

Say Police Abet House Burning

Negroes Charge Chicago Officers Fail to Protect Their Property Outside Area of Restricted Covenants

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, Nov. 24.—Mrs. Virginia Dobbins bought a house on the near south side in Chicago, outside the Negro section and in the restricted covenant area. Recently a fire broke out in her house, but was extinguished before it gained headway. She appealed to the 18th district police station for protection. The police promised a squad car would watch. The next day she returned to find the house a shambles, torn apart by vandals. Eyewitnesses are said to have declared that police officers in uniform watched the vandalism without interfering. The incident represents a more or less established pattern in Chicago. Incendiaries have set fires in various sections of the city where Negroes have purchased homes. For this reason, interracial workers have insisted on pressing this case to some conclusion. At a protest meeting in Woodlawn A.M.E. Church last week Horace Caton, director of Parkway Community House, charged that the mayor's committee on race relations has not changed the police nor effected legislation which would end restrictive covenants.

* * *

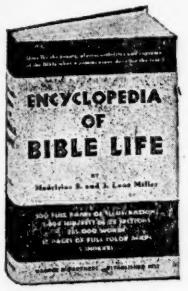
Snyder Criticizes Chicago Plan

In a statement aimed at the policies of President Hutchins of the University of Chicago, Franklyn Bliss Snyder, president of Northwestern University, said in his annual report to the university's board of trustees here last week: "We believe that the secondary schools of America, with all their faults, are better qualified to educate adolescent boys and girls than are colleges and universities, with all their faults." University campuses, he explained, have their standards set by much older men and women and on terms above those of sophomore high school level. President Hutchins declined to comment, except to say he was glad his neighbor was exercising his academic freedom. Snyder's report noted gifts to the university totaling over $6,500,000 and the addition of 30 members to the faculty.

* * *

Denominations Leave Church Federation Holding Bag

The Chicago church federation is handicapped in carrying out its resettlement and defense area projects and ministry in public institutions—projects which the denominational boards of the city asked it to undertake—because those boards have not paid the full bill for operation of the projects. These facts are brought out as the federation faces the task of raising something like $97,000 to carry on the cooperative work of the Protestant churches of Chicago. Of the amount, $21,000 will come from the city's community fund,



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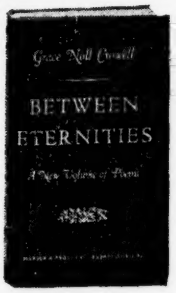

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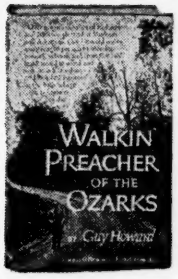

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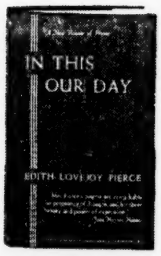

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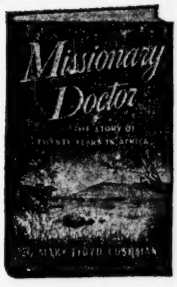

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* * *

Institute Features Addresses On Sociology, Medicine

The series of lectures made possible by an endowment to the Jewish Theological Seminary for an annual institute of religious studies got under way at the Fine Arts building here last week. William F. Ogburn, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, said in the course of his address at the institute: "The population of Europe, not including the U.S.S.R., will begin to decrease after reaching a high of 421,000,000 by 1965. As Europe's population decreases, that of America and Asia will increase." Europe, where so many wars have started in the past, will therefore, he pointed out, have a diminishing significance in the next 20 years. Under the same auspices, Dr. Walter L. Palmer, professor of medicine at the University of Chicago, spoke on "The Moral Implications of Medicine." He declared that there is a great lag between the potentialities of medicine and its actual achievements because of the domination of ethical concepts adequate 2,500 years ago but not today. The health of the people, he said, is dependent upon morale. One of our tasks, therefore, is to build a society in which every individual has an opportunity to make a constructive contribution.

* * *

And So Forth

The Roman Catholic diocese of Indianapolis, established in 1834, has been raised to the rank of an archdiocese. Its bishop, Joseph Ritter, who was born in New Albany, Ind., 52 years ago, has been made archbishop. Three new dioceses, Lafayette, Ind., Evansville, Ind., and Steubenville, Ohio, have also been created by papal action. These changes were announced here last week by Amleto Cicognani, apostolic delagate of Pope Pius XII.

Van Bittner, assistant to the president of the United Steelworkers of America, speaking as a Lutheran layman to the United Lutheran pastors of Chicago last Monday, said: "The problems before us can be solved only by the cooperation of the church and organized labor."

A fund of $757,000 to support mission work in dioceses in America was voted by the American Board of Catholic Missions here last week. More than $200,000 was set aside for postwar work, particularly in the Philippines.

CHARLES L. VENABLE.

Missionaries Expect to Work in Japan

According to the results of a questionnaire reported at the recent meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Boston, the majority of Congregational missionaries now in this country from Japan believe that it will be possible to return to their work by 1950. Most of the replies expressed a belief that there will be a continuing core of the United Church of Christ in Japan, and that the Japanese will invite missionary teachers, social workers and church workers to return shortly after the end of the war.

London Hails Fleet Victory

Philippine Naval Battle Gets Big Play in Empire Press—Beveridge Speaks in Parliament on Social Security

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, Nov. 6.—It is inevitable that America and Britain should lay a different emphasis upon war news, but in the news of the week there has been in this country a position of great importance for the news from the Pacific and a recognition of the brilliant achievement of the American fleet. The struggle to win Holland and to open the way to Antwerp has been long and trying; but it is clear from the morning's news that Montgomery's campaign in Holland is nearing its close and the Germans are pulling out. The work that is done by such soldiers as the late Sir John Dill cannot bring to them the popular applause which goes to commanders in the field. It is all the more welcome to have the words of General Marshall upon Sir John, whom he and other American statesmen and commanders had such ample means of knowing: "The fact that the Allied forces stand poised at the gates of Germany is due in no small measure to the breadth of vision and selfless devotion of Dill to our common cause."

* * *

Churchill Asks Year For Parliament

Mr. Churchill rose to speak in Parliament on Tuesday to ask for a prolongation of the life of this Parliament for another year. He was quite sure that the coalition must not be ended before nazism is broken. The prime minister frankly admitted that he placed no reliance upon a political uprising in Germany. On military grounds, he said, it seemed difficult to believe that the war would be ended before Christmas or even before Easter. The end of the German war could not be predicted for an earlier date. When it does end, and the king dissolves Parliament, that will mark the close of the present administration. But an interval will be necessary before the new Parliament can be elected. An election can scarcely be held in less than seven or nine months. For such reasons the premier asked for another year for this Parliament, and called upon its members to support the coalition during this period. There have been many signs of restiveness. Mr. Churchill's speech may have cast a damper upon the hopes of an almost immediate end which had got abroad. He declared that we must be ready for a winter campaign of a grim character.

* * *

Coffee House Meeting Recalled in London

The London Missionary Society will keep its 150th birthday next year but there are a day in 1794 and a place to be remembered by its friends. The day was Nov. 4, and the place to which in their mental pilgrimage they return is Baker's Coffee House in Change Alley off Cornhill. Even as the Baptists recall the parlor in a house in Kettering where the

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At a war chest rally in a midwestern city a minister said, "It is time our city and we individuals stood on our own feet and ceased our homage to and dependence upon Washington." There was sustained applause. From that hour the anti-stateism efforts of various elements in the town became cooperatively effective because they had a leader.

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history of their society began, so the Congregationalists and other friends of the L.M.S. go back to a coffee (or chop) house in the City of London. It was, as Cecil Northcott says, "one of those small meetings out of which great things arise." In his article Mr. Northcott gathers together in his fresh way almost all that is known of that company of ministers, eight in number, who had heard the call which others were hearing to proclaim to the heathen the riches of divine love. It was John Eyre, not only a preacher but the excellent editor of the *Evangelical Magazine*, who seems to have called his brethren together. "What happened in Baker's Coffee House, November 1794, may not have appeared of world significance to John Eyre and his brother ministers. But as the year of foundation, 1795, broadened out, the Baker's Coffee House meeting was seen to be the signal for the triumphant enthusiasm which launched the new society on its world adventure."

* * *

Archbishop's Funeral Held in Canterbury

The funeral service of William Temple in Canterbury Cathedral must have left with those who were present memories of a ceremony beautiful beyond words. But in itself the ceremony became the man to whom a nation said farewell. It was the departure of one whose claim to be remembered was not first of all that of a great churchman who belonged to the Anglican communion and to the *lina sancta* gathered out of all nations. Nor was it the farewell to a great thinker, as he indeed was, or to a master mind which seemed to take in every level of human life. He was remembered as a great Christian man, going as all must go on his last journey, going with awe and reverence, with faith and love into the presence of his Lord. It was the hour

"When death Thy endless mercies sealed
And made the sacrifice complete."

* * *

Beveridge Enters Commons

Sir William Beveridge has made a timely entrance into the House of Commons. His first speech was made upon a proposed social security budget of which he justly claimed to be the father. The discussion was upon the White Paper and covered a wide range, but in the main the House seemed to start with a large measure of agreement with Sir William. Only a few voices were raised against his bold insurance measures, his provision for children's allowances and for old age pensions. But the fact should not be overlooked that, so far as expression was concerned, the hostility which met the Liberal government when it first introduced insurance measures against ill-health and unemployment was not heard now in Parliament. That does not mean it is not heard at all; there are still many who shake their heads at what they consider the impossible costs. Nevertheless the reception of the White Paper, and the attention given to Sir William, whose speech was anticipated with as much seriousness as if he were a minister of the crown, showed a revolution in the public mind. He said: "This country is proclaiming to the world that the security of work and income, which desperate men have been driven to seek in the preparation and waging of war, can be achieved by peaceful means and for the purposes of peace, and that social security after the war is the foundation of national security and the preservation of peace in the world."

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Catholics Discuss Co-ops

Notre Dame Conference Reveals Church Is Actively Promoting Movement

SOUTH BEND, IND., Nov. 22.—About 125 people from all over America attended the conference at Notre Dame University here called by the Roman Catholic committee for marking the centennial of the cooperative movement. Addresses were made by Congressman Jerry Voorhis of California; Rt. Rev. A. J. Muench, Roman Catholic bishop of Fargo, N. D.; I. W. Hull of the Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association; Hugh Reichert of the consumer's division of the C.I.O., Detroit; and J. A. Rightly of South Bend. Mr. Rightly has organized the highly successful cooperative store for Studebaker Local No. 5 of the C.I.O. The conference opened with a mass conducted by Bishop John F. Noll of Fort Wayne and had the support and blessing of the Catholic clergy of this region.

Co-ops Face Big Oil Companies

Mr. Hull told of the difficulties encountered by farm bureaus when they asked oil companies to give an analysis of oil. After the oil companies refused to comply with the request the farm bureaus established their own cooperative laboratories and distribution stations. Attention was called to the fact that 75 per cent of the farms in America are farmed by tenants and 14 per cent of the groceries of the nation are distributed by one chain store. Cooperatives provide a democratic method of distribution which is better than such chains, it was said, and offers the best answer to increasing centralization.

"Cooperation is much preferable to government action," declared Congressman Voorhis. He pointed out that cooperatives had been a saving power in China and said it was his belief that cooperatives offer great promise in Europe during postwar days. "In America 4,000,000 members of the cooperative credit unions have pulled the teeth of the loan sharks and our cooperative stores have stretched the consumer's dollar," the congressman said, adding that already these cooperatives have grown to sufficient size to draw the fire of vested interests. He named the Tax Equality Association as the leading anti-cooperative organization.

Church Takes Movement Seriously

Mr. Reichert, speaking for labor unions, said: "Cooperatives have no bone to pick with employers. On the contrary, they seek to increase the number of employers." In Detroit, he said, a cooperative medical society is being formed. Housing cooperatives are also under way. In smaller conferences it was revealed that a number of local Catholic churches are establishing cooperatives in their parishes with the full approval of their bishops. These ventures include not only stores but also cooperative lockers and credit unions. One

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Catholic nun reported that she spent much of her time organizing small groups to study cooperatives and other community problems. If this conference provides a clue, the Roman Catholic Church is taking this movement very seriously and is actively promoting it on a big scale.

F. E. DAVISON.

P.A.C. Seeks Church Aid

C.I.O. Committee to Form a National Group of Church Associates

CHICAGO, Nov. 22.—Dwight Bradley, director of the Religious Associates of the National Citizens' Political Action Committee of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, announced here tonight that "four or five thousand clergymen and other churchmen interested in progressive political action will be organized into a national fellowship to work together with labor." Pursuant to the decision of the C.I.O. convention, now in session here, to preserve and extend the successful P.A.C., Dr. Bradley seeks to make permanent the part of its program which appealed to the churches for support during the recent political campaign. Among the organizations which were represented at the meeting at which the announcement was made were the Religion and Labor Foundation and the United Christian Council for Democracy. Willard Uphaus and Richard Morford, secretaries of these associations respectively, spoke in support of Dr. Bradley's proposal.

To Hold Monthly Meetings

The plan is to build up a membership list and to hold monthly meetings in principal centers where ministers and labor leaders can discuss their mutual interests in "progressive political action." In endorsing the move, J. Raymond Walsh, educational director of the C.I.O. and former economics professor of Harvard University, said that the labor movement and the C.I.O. "owe a great deal to the church." He said that "many labor leaders are religious men and many of the wisest counselors of labor are church leaders." Quoting Carl Sandburg's statement that "in the darkness with a great bundle of grief the people march in the night," he declared that the P.A.C. is making history faster than it knows but that it has as yet won, in Henry A. Wallace's words, "only a beachhead of opportunity" in the struggle against another war and fascism.

Task Ahead Difficult

Mr. Walsh held that church and labor have only "a 50-50 chance" of stopping the trend which, he admitted, is running toward another war, and of "engineering consent" by "an educational and evangelistic campaign" in this country so that poverty can be overthrown for all. Recognizing the validity of the considerations which have usually kept the churches aloof from political action, he maintained that "this is one of the moments in human history when the noble self-restraint which has kept the church above the battle should be set aside and the churches should become preoccupied with political change. For the political failures of our time at bottom are all moral failures."

HAROLD E. FEY.

Churches Endorse Dumbarton Oaks

Annual Meetings of Georgia Methodists and Baptists Seek Accord among Nations to Preserve Peace

(Correspondence from Georgia)

MACON, Nov. 21.—South Georgia Methodists, meeting in Macon in their annual conference, unanimously adopted a resolution urging postponement of legislation involving postwar conscription until after the close of the war. A copy of the resolution was sent to Georgia representatives in Congress. The conference also went on record as favoring international organization and cooperation in the establishment of a just and peaceful world order. Bishop Arthur Moore keynoted the meeting. He declared: "The shape of things to come cannot be finally determined upon the battlefield, but in a radical rediscovery of the Christian way of life." Methodism's four-year program, the "Crusade for Christ," was formally launched within the conference with the presentation of conference goals and objectives. Principal guest speaker was Norman Vincent Peale of New York, whose general theme was, "The Technique of Effective Living." The North Georgia conference is holding its annual session in Atlanta this week with Bishop Moore presiding.

* * *

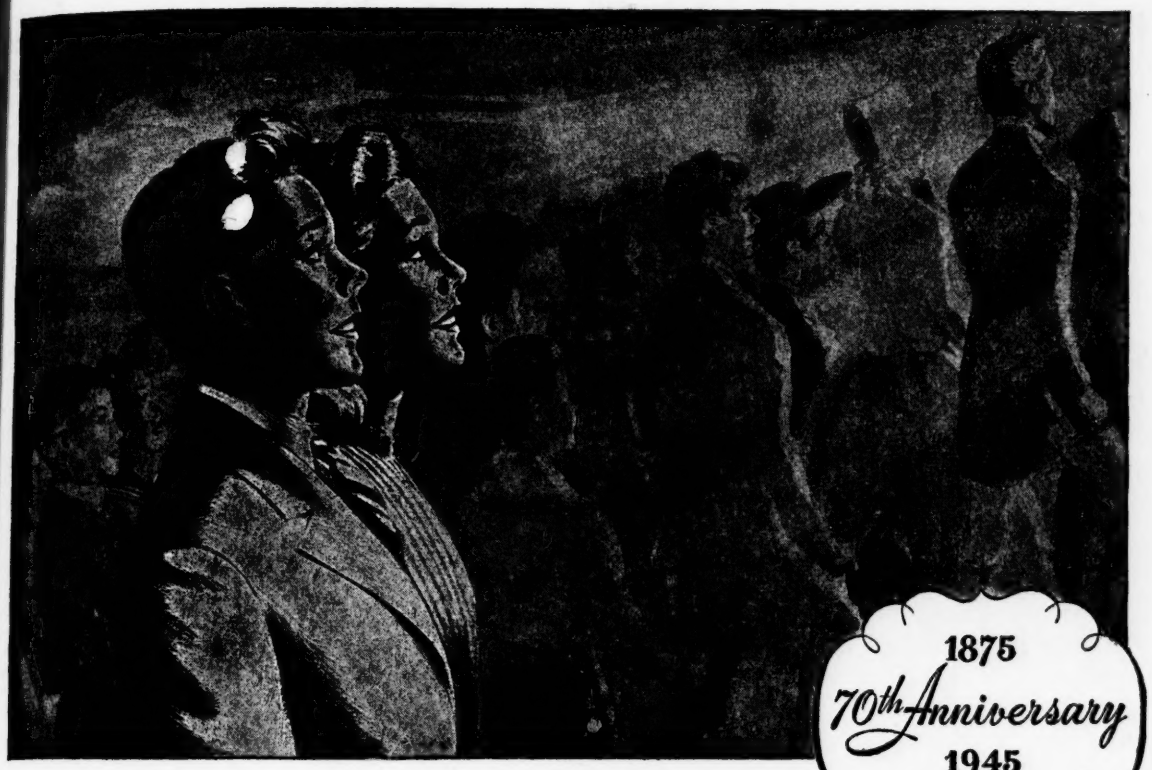
Baptists Urged to Read Howard Book

Messengers to the recent Georgia Baptist convention in Atlanta heard several speakers urge them to read George P. Howard's book, *Religious Liberty in Latin America,* because it contains a fully documented and convincing answer to the Roman Catholic pretension that Protestant missions are subversive of the Good Neighbor policy of our government. J. C. Wilkinson, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Athens, was elected president of the convention, succeeding Fred Porter of Columbus. The program devoted considerable attention to preparations for the observance in 1945 of the centennial of the Southern Baptist Convention. In a forceful address, J. B. McLaurin, executive secretary of Canadian Baptists, suggested ways by which the church can influence affairs of state. The social service report as usual denounced the principal social evils of the day. It recommended a peace platform with the following planks: no isolation, a democratic world in which small nations and racial minorities are free to exercise their God-given liberties, an international organization implemented with power to guarantee the security of all nations against aggression and to secure for all people racial justice, economic opportunity and freedom of worship.

* * *

Conferences Deal with Postwar Problems

Two important conferences dealing with postwar problems were held in Atlanta recently. One, on Christian world reconstruction, was conducted under the auspices of the Atlanta Christian Council. Henry Smith Leiper, executive secretary of the



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American section of the World Council of Churches, and Leslie Bates Moss, of the Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction, were the principal speakers. In addition to several public meetings, special sessions were held for ministers, for public school teachers, for officers and teachers of the Sunday schools, and for high school, college and seminary students. The other conference, on "Demobilization Challenges the Church," was conducted under the sponsorship of several women's organizations and was featured by four workshops in which the following subjects were considered: the church and its ministry to the family, full employment, group cooperation and democracy, and children and youth in the transition period.

* * *

Model Farm Operations Point to Future

One of the most important movements in the south today is that which has recently been organized in Georgia, known as the Callaway plan after its founder, Cason Callaway, of Hamilton. It provides for the operation of 100 demonstration farms. Each farm is being financed by a corporation composed of business men, each of whom has contributed $1,000 to the venture. The purpose of the movement is to prove that when supplied with ample capital and operated according to modern methods, agriculture can be eminently successful in this region.

* * *

And So Forth

In connection with the general election on Nov. 7, Florida voters ratified an anti-closed shop amendment to the state constitution, which provides that no one shall be denied a job because of membership or non-membership in a labor organization.

The 95th annual convention of the Christian Churches of Georgia was held in Atlanta, with George D. West of Savannah presiding over the sessions.

Russell Henry Stafford, president of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in Atlanta as one of the speakers in a series of Tuesday evening services being conducted at Central Congregational Church, declared that the people of China are just as civilized and cultured as Americans, and are not going to tolerate exploitation by the white race after the war.

J. MAURICE TRIMMER.

Women Ask Draft Probe

Study Before Action Is Requested by National Council of Church Women

COLUMBUS, OHIO, Nov. 17—Some 600 women, delegates to the second biennial assembly of the United Council of Church Women held here Nov. 14-16, went on record as opposed to the proposed peacetime draft as "undemocratic and unchristian." They asked, instead, that Congress appoint a commission composed of representatives of Congress, of industry, labor, agriculture and the church to investigate the problems of national security in the light of the proposed Dumbarton Oaks peace plan, in order that final action may represent the mature thought of the whole people. Another resolution asked that changes be made in the immigration law to

permit Orientals to enter on a quota basis.

Mrs. Harper Sibley of Syracuse, N. Y., was elected president of the council, which is composed of representatives of women's organizations in most of the Protestant denominations in this country. Each morning during the assembly was devoted to meetings of small groups to consider techniques for the work of local councils. Each afternoon there were reports of special studies assigned two years ago to certain local councils. These were mostly in the field of women's participation in ecumenical activities throughout the world, and in special projects to meet community problems of wartime dislocation and the growth of prejudice.

Addresses were made by Georgia Harkness, professor at Garrett Biblical Institute; Charles S. Johnson, professor of sociology at Fisk University; Grace Loucks Elliott of the Y.W.C.A.'s national board; Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam and Representative Walter Judd.

Additional Funds Voted By Presbyterians

A "reconstruction and rehabilitation fund" of $20,000,000 for the next five years was voted by the General Council of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America at its fall meeting in Chicago. The sum is to be raised by the church under its wartime service commission to provide for special necessities during the remainder of the war and in the postwar period. Already a number of projects in defense areas are being sponsored by the church's wartime service fund.

Million Dollar Drive Launched

National Conference of Christians and Jews to Combat Hate Movements—Reports of Injustice to Negroes

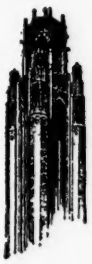
(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, Nov. 24.—On Monday the National Conference of Christians and Jews opened their drive for $1,000,000 to fight religious bias in the United States. Speakers included Fr. George B. Ford, Catholic student adviser, and Otto Klineberg, both of Columbia University; Henry N. MacCracken, president of Vassar; Howard E. Wilson of Harvard; Chaplain M. M. Witherspoon; and Everett Clinchy, president of the conference. Basil O'Connor, co-chairman of the New York drive, stated that "hate movements after the last war did serious injury to our political, economic and communal life. Through the fund we hope to avoid the calamity of postwar hate movements after the present conflict."

* * *

Jews Ask Justice For Negroes

The Synagogue Council of America in a plea issued this week called for the breakdown of "all barriers against the full participation of the Negroes in the economic, professional, patriotic, industrial, educational, artistic and recreational life



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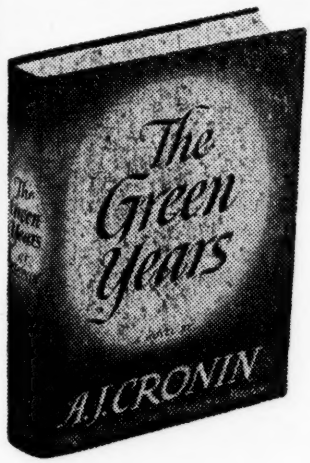

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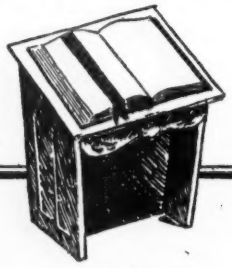

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of our country." The council declared that "in many sections of our country Negroes are segregated in schools and residential areas, denied equal opportunities in industry and in commerce, in the professions and in labor organizations and even in the exercise of the franchise. They are humiliated at resorts and theaters and in vehicles of transportation, and in other ways are treated by their fellow men as stepchildren of God. Despite the Negro's proved loyalty and heroism, segregation continues in the armed forces. Prisoners of war who fought to destroy our freedom were recently extended courtesies denied to Negro soldiers. In many communities there are heard too frequently ugly threats about the future status of the Negro. Against such flagrant violations of God's commandment of interracial brotherhood we of the household of Israel raise our voices in protest."

* * *

Catholics Decry Racialism

Fr. Wilfred Parsons told the Catholic University forum that "the racialism we are fighting to destroy in Germany, Italy, Hungary and France is no different from the racialism existing in the United States." He declared the American Negro to be the "foremost political victim of the social disease." Father Parsons criticized our racial nomenclature, saying: "Racialism includes all that is suggested by the phrases in common use among us: white supremacy, anti-Semitism, the yellow peril, America for the Americans, no Mexicans (or Irish or Italians) need apply." Concluding that the ultimate cure lies in religion, the priest reminded all that "it is we who have made the Negro and other people race-conscious by the race-consciousness we practice."

* * *

Peace Conference Urges Colonial Rights

At the meeting of the National Peace Conference Monday, the limitations of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals were discussed. The conference adopted a resolution urging "that arrangements for colonial and underdeveloped areas be included in the proposals." It was specified that "the underlying principle shall be the welfare of the people concerned, this welfare to be achieved through international trusteeship. Present mandated areas and all colonial territories taken from the enemy powers shall be maintained under a developing international authority, thus establishing the principle of international trusteeship for all colonial and underdeveloped territories, no matter by whom held."

* * *

India is Suspicious Of America

"We should remain united with Great Britain but this should not mean we must acquiesce in her colonial policy," said George B. Cressey, formerly of China and now professor at Syracuse University, at a Geographical Society meeting here. Reporting on a recent trip to India, Dr. Cressey told the audience, "I had expected to find Indian nationalists sympathetic to the United States, but instead they were suspicious that we had political designs on their homeland after the war." He added: "Several prominent Indians told me they believed Churchill had purchased American aid in Europe by giving President Roosevelt a mortgage on India. The presence of

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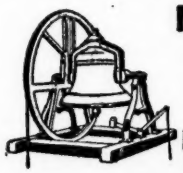

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our troops was interpreted as a police measure on our part to suppress political agitation during the war.

* * *

And So Forth

Nearly 2,000 Protestant teachers gathered at the Astor hotel Saturday for their annual luncheon. The speakers were John E. Wade, superintendent of schools of New York city, and Alfred E. Randall, secretary of the New York Congregational association.

Walter Hubert Baddeley, "Lord Bishop of Melanesia," was given the honorary degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology by Columbia University Wednesday.

Donald Harrington was installed Sunday as junior colleague to John Haynes Holmes of the Community Church. Mayor La-Guardia, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and A. Clayton Powell, Sr., participated in the services.

St. Luke's Episcopal Church of Rossville, Staten Island, celebrated its 100th anniversary with historic services last Sunday.

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Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores

M-Mature. Y-Younger. C-Children.

Laura *(Fox)* Dana Andrews, Vincent Price, Gene Tierney, Clifton Webb. *Melodrama.* Detective, tracing clues to brutal murder of career girl, is attracted by her legend, finds subsequent developments most surprising. Sophisticated characters and setting in an *ingenious* murder mystery. M

The Mark of the Whistler (Col.) *Melodrama.* Derelict poses as long-lost owner of dormant bank account, only to meet danger from past of man he impersonates. One in series narrated by "the whistler," a sort of mysterious voice of fate. Effective characterizations in *suspenseful* plot above usual run-of-mill standard for film mysteries. M, Y

Music in Manhattan (RKO) *Musical* skits set in story of girl who inadvertently is mistaken for wife of Pacific hero. On surface, pleasant and ingenuous, but in reality thinly disguised bedroom farce. *Very minor.* M, Y

1812 (Soviet film; English titles and narration) *Drama.* Napoleon's advance to Moscow, Russian strategy of waiting, and eventual battle, disastrous defeat. An excellent historical film, with emphasis on character of leaders. No Hollywood-type distractions or additions to fact. Demonstrates unique Russian adeptness with massed scenes, which here have look of old battle engravings. Done with *sweep and conviction.* M, Y

The Princess and the Pirate (RKO) Walter Brennan, Bob Hope, Victor McLaglan. *Farce,* with Hope bringing current topical wisecracks into tale of fearful actor fallen among 17th century pirates. Utterly without meaning or logic, as is to be expected, but lacking good humor of previous Hope films, brutal brawls and harsh speech somehow not fitting farcical atmosphere. In technicolor. *Swash-buckling.* M, Y

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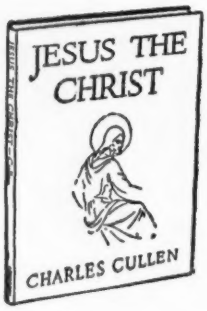

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